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# Shakespeare's Pericles AND Apollonius of Tyre

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## A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

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BY

ALBERT H. SMYTH

*Professor of English in the Central High School of Philadelphia; Author of  
"American Literature," "The Philadelphia Magazines and  
Their Contributors," "Bayard Taylor."*

"Noch einmal sattelt mir den Hippogryfen ihr Musen,  
Zum Ritt ins alte romantische Land!"

—WIELAND

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## SHAKESPEARE'S PERICLES AND APOLLONIUS OF TYRE.

Shakespeare's *Pericles Prince of Tyre* is the most singular example in Elizabethan literature of a consistent copying of a venerable and far-traveled story. The Apollonius Saga, from which it is wholly drawn, is known to nearly every language of Europe, and persists through more than a thousand years, flourishing in extraordinary popularity. Its undiminished vitality through many centuries and its almost unaltered integrity through many languages make it an attractive subject for critical exposition. From its untraced origin in the late sophistic romance of Greece it entered the literatures of Europe through a hundred manuscripts of an early Latin version. It was popular in Italy, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Norway and Iceland; it is found in a Danish ballad and a Netherland drama; it was sung by Provençal poets, and beyond the Pyrenees it was borrowed from to praise the Cid; it was translated in Crete into modern Greek in the sixteenth century; it was absorbed in France into the cycle of Charlemagne, and it is the only romance in Anglo-Saxon literature. The mythical Apollonius tossing on strange seas about the Mediterranean coasts became a veritable hero of history to the Germans, French and Italians, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The long line of translations, imitations, *märchen*, *volksbücher*, *sagas*, romances, ballads and plays, ends at last in the culminating splendor of Shakespeare's *Pericles Prince of Tyre*.

The Anglo-Saxon romance, Gower's version in *Confessio Amantis*, and Shakespeare's drama have been studied with zeal and care; Al. Riese and M. Ring have edited the Latin text; Prof. Erwin Rohde, in *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, and Teuffel-Schwabe, *Geschichte der römische Litteratur*, have partly traced the history of the saga; and S. Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrus, Untersuchungen über das Fortleben des antiken Romans in späteren Zeiten*, has compared the chief versions of the story. I have attempted in this new study to give a complete historical sketch of the romance, to

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compare its more important narratives with particular reference to its final shape in Shakespeare, and to indicate its relations to the Vilkina saga, the poem of King Orendel, the *chanson* of Jourdain de Blaivies, the Solomon-Markolf cycle, and the *Antheia and Habrokomes* of Xenophon of Ephesus. For ten years I have followed the story through the libraries of Europe, collating MSS. and examining *incunabula* from Copenhagen to Constantinople. And I have observed with satisfaction in that time a growing sense of the importance of this saga in the history of literature. Various literary tasks have interfered with the completion and publication of my study, a delay which has not been without its advantages; for in consequence of it I have seen certain rare and important texts and codices edited and given to the world by far worthier hands than mine. A few years ago I edited the unique manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon *Apollonius* in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and should have embodied it in this publication, but that my friend, Prof. Julius Zupitza, has happily forestalled me and edited the text<sup>1</sup> with erudition, judgment and skill that leave nothing to be desired.

The full text of the story, according to the version in the *Gesta Romanorum*, will be found printed in an Appendix to this paper, and to that the reader should refer as to an authoritative source. The story as it is found in *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (Alex. Riese, Lipsiae, 1871; iterum recensuit, 1893) may be briefly summarized as follows:

#### THE STORY.

King Antiochus, the founder of Antioch, having one only daughter, fell in unnatural love with her; and that he might keep her for himself he made a law that whoso presumed to desire her in marriage and could not unfold the meaning of certain riddles which the king proposed should lose his life, and his head should be placed over the palace door as a warning. Among many other rich and powerful princes and lords who adventured came Apollonius of Tyre, who interpreted the riddle in which the king

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, 1896.

had artfully concealed, as he thought, his illicit love for his daughter. Terrified at his discovery, Apollonius returned secretly to Tyre, freighted a ship with necessaries, with wheat and with treasure, and in the night departed upon a sea-voyage. Antiochus dispatched a slave to Tyre with poison for the prince, only to learn from his messenger that Apollonius had fled. While he was thus sought for, Apollonius had arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia, where a citizen, Stranguillio, informed him of the famine that prevailed in the city. With his wheat he relieved the distress of the people, and out of gratitude they erected a bronze statue of him in the market-place. After a little while the vessel again put to sea, and, in a great tempest, was wrecked, and Apollonius alone, of all the ship's company, was cast ashore at Cyrene. An old fisherman who discovered him pitied his misfortune, clothed him with part of his own garments, and directed him to the city (Pentapolis of Cyrene). Upon his arrival there he found the youth of the land engaged in ball-play (*ἐπιλοχυρός*)<sup>1</sup> before Archistrates, the king. Apollonius took part in the game and won the king's approval and the prize of competition by his skill and strength. He was commanded to sit by the king at supper, and the king's daughter begged him to relate his adventures. Apollonius, having gone outside, put on a robe of state<sup>2</sup> (*status*) and a crown and taking a lyre went into the triclinium. Delighted with his playing, the princess besought the king that she might learn from the stranger, who, by permission of the king, became her teacher. One day the king was encountered in his walk by three young men (prince's sons) who declared their love for his daughter. Archistrates required each of them to write a letter setting forth his name, his parentage and his wealth, and sent the letters by the hand of Apollonius to the princess, who confessed the great love that had grown in her for Apollonius. With the royal consent they were married. After a time a vessel from Tyre put into port bringing the news that Antiochus and his daughter had been killed by a lightning stroke, and that Apollonius was heir to the city of Antioch, with all

<sup>1</sup> See Marquardt, *Römisches Altertum*, v, ii, 425.

<sup>2</sup> This robe, or long flowing gown—*status lyricum*—appears to indicate the costume of the Citharists.

its riches, and the whole kingdom. With his consort he immediately set sail, with the best wishes of Archistrates for a prosperous journey. Hardly were they two days old at sea when a tempest arose, during which the princess was delivered of a daughter. The mother directly after appeared as one dead, whereupon the captain of the vessel came to Apollonius saying that the sailors would not permit the body to remain in the ship. A chest was made with much care, and the supposed corpse of the princess was laid within it, with treasure at the head and at the feet, and so committed to the deep. On the third day the chest was cast ashore on the coast of Ephesus, and was found by Cerimon, a physician, who, with his scholars, was walking upon the shore. When the chest was opened, and the body found and marveled at by all, it was observed by one of the scholars (Machaon) that some sparks of life yet lingered. He ordered a fire to be kindled, and chafed the body until the blood again began to flow freely and the lady to awaken from her trance. By her own request she was placed in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, "for aye to be in shady cloister mewed."

The sorrowful Apollonius came, by fortunate winds, to Tarsus, where he left his daughter and her nurse, Lycoris, in the care of Stranguillio and his wife, Dionysias, to be brought up with their daughter. And he swore an oath that he would not cut his hair, nor his beard, nor his nails until his daughter's marriage. He then departed into Egypt. The daughter, whose name was Tharsia, grew up in Tarsus, comely and well schooled. At fourteen years of age she learned from her dying nurse the names of her parents and the story of her birth in the tempest.

Dionysias, jealous of the child's beauty, and that she was so much in the heart of the people that her own child was altogether misprised, ordered her slave (Theophilus) to murder Tharsia, instructing him to wait by the tomb of Lycoris, whither it was the wont of Tharsia each day to repair and to pray, and there to seize and slay the child and to throw the body into the sea. The murderous intent was frustrated by the sudden appearance of some pirates, who carried Tharsia to their ships and departed with her. The slave returned to Dionysias and announced that the deed that she had ordered was done, whereupon the family put on mourning and a

monument was erected by the people with this inscription "Unto the virgin Tharsia in lieu of her father's benefits, the citizens of Tarsus have erected this monument."<sup>1</sup>

The pirates landed at Mitylene and sold Tharsia to a brothel. In this loathsome place she still preserved her honor, drawing tears from those who sought her company by her moving recital of her painful adventures. Athenagoras, "the first in the city," visited her and was moved with compassion and pity.

After fourteen years Apollonius returned to Tarsus only to learn that his daughter was dead, and after he had seen her monument he returned to his ship where he lay lonely and sad. Again driven by a tempest, the vessel chanced upon the coast of Mitylene, upon the birthday of Apollonius. Athenagoras walking toward the sea-shore saw Apollonius' tall ship riding at anchor and praised her stately appearance to the mariners, who invited him to come aboard and to partake of their feast. Upon inquiring after the owner of the ship, he learned that he was ill and weak with sorrow, that he had lost his wife upon the sea and his daughter in a strange land. Athenagoras offered two pieces of gold to the servant who would go down and tell his master that the Prince of the City desired him to come up out of darkness into light, but the servant replied that he could not buy new thighs with gold and that his master had said that whoever troubled him should have his thighs broken. Athenagoras then went in person, but in vain. Upon being told that the name of the master of the ship was Apollonius, he remembered that he had heard Tharsia call her father so. It occurred to him to send for Tharsia, whom he desired to comfort the lord of the vessel with her song. Apollonius wondered at her song, requited her with a hundred pieces of gold and bade her depart. Upon the demand of Athenagoras, she returned again to the despairing father and attempted to cheer him with riddles. Apollonius solved the riddles, but, vexed by her importunity, as it seemed to him, he rose up suddenly and struck her on the face so that she fell to the ground. Weeping, she lamented her unhappy fate, and at last Apollonius recognized his daughter.

<sup>1</sup> "D. M. Cives Tharsi Tharsiae Virgini Beneficiis Tyrii Apollonii" (Codex Parasinus, 4955).

The bawd who had purchased Tharsia was burned ; the citizens of Mitylene erected two statues of brass in the market-place, “ Unto Apollonius, prince of Tyrus, the preserver of our houses ; and unto his virtuous daughter Tharsia ;” and Tharsia was given as wife unto Athenagoras.

Upon his return to Tyre, in company with his daughter and son-in-law, Apollonius had a dream in which he was commanded of an angel to sail unto Ephesus and to go to the Temple of Diana and there with a loud voice to declare all his adventures. This he did, and was recognized by his wife, and the reunited family journeyed to Antioch, where Apollonius was crowned king. Thence he sailed to Tyre, where he found his kingdom governed in good order. He left his son-in-law as lieutenant at Tyre, and took ship for Tarsus, and denounced Stranguillio and Dionysias, who were thereupon stoned to death by the people, who would also have slain the slave Theophilus had not Tharsia interposed, and at whose intercession his life was spared. After three months the family departed for Cyrene, where they were received with great joy. The old king, Archistrates, died in the arms of his children ; the fisherman who had befriended the naked Apollonius was richly rewarded, as was also Hellenicus, who had brought to him the news of the malice of Antiochus. So Apollonius reigned over Antioch, Tyre and Cyrene, and in happy union with his wife reached a great age. The history of his adventures he wrote in two volumes ; one he sent to the Temple of Diana at Ephesus and the other he placed in his own library (Oxon. Magdal., 50).

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY.

It is clear that the narrative exhibits the familiar mannerism of the Greek sophistic romance. The circle of adventures in the Babylonian histories of Iamblichus, the Ethiopian histories of Heliodorus,<sup>1</sup> the Ephesian histories of Xenophon, the history of Leucippe and Klitophon, etc., is the same in all instances. The writers of this cycle had contrived a universal apparatus of romance upon which they drew liberally and upon equal terms—pirates,

<sup>1</sup> *Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικῆς Ἰστορίας Βιβλία δέκα*, *Heliodori Historiae Áethiopicae libri decem, nunquam antea in lucem editi* (ed. by V. Obsopaeus). *Basilie, 1534.*

sea-storms, dreams, apparent death, reunited lovers, etc., were the materials out of which the romances were made.

No Greek original of the Apollonius story has been discovered, but it is hardly believable that no such original existed. Riese (*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*), Rohde (*Der griechische Roman*), W. Christ (*Sitzungsberichte der München. Philol. Cl.*, 1872, S. 4), A.W. Teuffel (*Rh. Mus.*, xxvii, 104), W. Meyer ("Abhandlung über den lateinischen Text der Geschichte des Apollonius von Tyrus," in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch., philolog. u. historischen Classe d. König-Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1872, Heft i, S. 3-29), E. Bährens (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, 103, pp. 856-858), W. Härtel (*Oestreich. Wochenschrift f. Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 1872, pp. 161-172), and J. G. von Hahn (*Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, ii, 250), have searched for Greek color and allusions in the earliest Latin versions and have found sufficient to justify Teuffel's conclusion that the original author was a pagan Greek from Asia Minor ("Der Verfasser desselben war vielleicht aus dem griechischen Klein-Asien und noch Heide," *Rh. Mus.*, xxvii, 104). Teuffel adds (*id.*, 103), "das christliche Gewand ist dem Stoffe erst von dem Uebersetzer lässig umgeworfen." A list of the græcisms may be found in Riese, ed. 1871 (xi-xiii). Haupt denied the Greek origin, but was confuted by Rohde. See Thielmann, *Ueber Sprache und Kritik des lat. Apollonius Romans*, Speier, 1881, for arguments for the Latin origin of the story.<sup>1</sup>

There is a singular relationship which cannot be explained as an accidental coincidence between the Apollonius and the Greek sophistic romance of Antheia and Habrokomes, of Xenophon of Ephesus—*Xenophontis Ephesii Ephesiacorum, libri V, de Amoribus Anthiae et Abrocomae nunc primum prodeunt . . . cum Latina interpretatione A. Cocchii, London, 1726.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Klebs, *Phil.* 47, 80, for evidence that the story is a version of a pagan Latin work of the third century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dunlop *History of Prose Fiction* London, 1888, Vol. i, pp. 61-63. Angelo Poliziano mentions the Ephesian History—Σφεσταχ τὰ Κατὰ Ἀνθίαν εἰς Ἀβροκόμην—in his Liber. Miscell., li. It was translated into Italian in 1723. There are two other Xenophons nearly contemporary—X. Antiochenus and X. Cyprius.

Antheia and Habrokomes meet in the Temple of Diana, are married, but in obedience to an oracle of Apollo are forced to travel. They become separated and A. falls into the hands of robbers, from whom she is rescued by Perilaus, a young nobleman. A. consents to marry him but, on the eve of the marriage, swallows a sleeping potion which she had secured from a physician, a friend of Perilaus, to whom she has confided her story.<sup>1</sup> She is lamented as dead, and is conveyed to a sepulchre. She awakens in the tomb which is plundered by pirates for the sake of the treasure it contains.

The bold outlines of the narrative are common to both the Ephesiaca and the Apollonius. The marriage of the principal figures of the romance is in both instances at the beginning and not at the end of the adventures. The stories are alike in the intended assassination of the heroine by a slave commissioned by a jealous mistress; the compassion of the murderer; the escape of the heroine; her preservation of her purity in a brothel, and the final recognition of the lovers in a temple by means of the hero's repetition in a loud voice of his adventures. Apollonius is succoured by an old fisherman of Cyrene; Habrokomes sojourns with a fisherman of Syracuse. Rohde conjectures that the idyllic sequestration of such a picture of contented poverty called forth imitators (*Der griechische Roman*, p. 412). The wife of Apollonius is regarded by mistake as Artemis herself, and the same mistake is made with regard to Antheia. The correspondence between the two romances is briefly indicated by W. Meyer (*Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad. Phil. Cl.*, 1872, p. 3), and the parallelism is more fully made out by Rohde (*Der griechische Roman*, pp. 412, 413). The latter even finds in the brevity and dryness of the narrative an indication of a significant correspondence of manner in the two narrators, for the usual romantic style of the period was overflowing with pathos and color.

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<sup>1</sup> Douce ("Illustrations") observed that these incidents resemble the leading adventure of *Romeo and Juliet* though he admits that Xenophon's work was not translated nor published when Luigi da Porto wrote the novel *La Giulietta* on which Shakespeare's play is based. The story was everywhere popular. Lopez de Vega wrote a play upon it—*Los Castelvines y Monteses*.

A correspondence so exact and even verbal is only explicable upon the theory that one of the narrators was the imitator of the other. Of course it is quite conceivable that some Latin follower of later Greek sophistry had ventured an imitation of the Greek prototypes of erotic romance poetry, but the possibility of such an explanation disappears, and the conviction that the Latin *Apollonius* is a translation of an original Greek romance becomes irresistible when the student discovers in the text—as in a palimpsest, Rohde says—a double stratum of pagan-Greek and Christian-Latin conceptions, customs and turns of expression. It is clear enough that the pagan ground work and the clumsily adjusted Christian additions are by different hands; and if in the oldest Latin version two writers are found to be engaged upon the old text there is hardly a more simple explanation conceivable than that a Greek romance originally written by a Greek of the ancient faith was translated by a Christian of the Latin half of the empire. The love of arts evinced by both men and women in the *Apollonius* romance smacks more of Greek manners than of Roman, or Christian-Roman iconoclastic zeal; while such a passage as that in which the fisherman divides his cloak with *Apollonius* resembles the story of St. Martin and indicates an origin in the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup>

When Tharsia plays upon the harp in the cabin of *Apollonius'* ship, she proposes to the king, in order to dispel his melancholy, certain riddles derived from the collection of *Symphosius*.<sup>2</sup> Here there is a reminiscence of a popular kind of Oriental *märchen* in which the sad and the sick are cheered and healed, by jugglers, moun-

<sup>1</sup> “Sic pescatorem dimidiam sagi partem Apollonio naufrago dantem ad sancti Martini exemplum [Sulpic. Sever. Vita S. Mart. c. 3] conformavit,” Riese, ed. of 1893, p. xviii. The story of Tharsia in the house of the Pander reappears in the ecclesiastical legends, e. g., the legend of St. Agnes. Cf. Simrock, p. 119.

Cf. *Leben und Wunderthaten des Heiligen Martin. Aitfransösisches Gedicht aus dem Anfang des XIII. Jahrhunderts von Plan Gatineau (aus Tours).* Herausgegeben von Werner Söderhjelm, Prof. Univ. Helsingfors, in Bibliothek des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, 1896, Vol. 210.

<sup>2</sup> The riddles of *Symphosius* or *Symposius* are to be found in many editions. Cf. *Cent Enigmes à la Manière de Symposium*, Auguste Du Bois [1868]; *Epigrammata et Poemata Vetera*, 1590. The author was Caelius Firmianus *Symposius*. See also the conclusion of the *Phaedrus* of Joannes Meursius, 1610.

tebanks and fools. J. G. von Hahn, in *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, ii, 250, collects some parallels to the Apollonius-Tharsia story that are useful for comparison. He does not mention the *Apollonius*, but he quotes from Apollodorus, iii, cap. vii, para. 7: "Euripides sagt [i. e., in his second tragedy *Alkmaön*], Alkmaön zeugte zur Zeit seines Wahnsinns mit Manto, der Tochter des Tiresias, zwei Kinder, Amphilochos und Tisiphone. Er brachte die Kinder nach Korinth, und übergab sie dem König der Korinther, Kreon, zur Erziehung. Die Tisiphone aber welche sich durch ihre Schönheit auszeichnete wurde von der Gattin des Kreon in die Sklaverei verkauft, weil diese fürchtete, dass sie Kreon zu seiner Frau machen könnte. Alkmaön kaufte sie und hatte sie zur Sklavin, ohne zu wissen, dass es seine Tochter sei. Als er darauf nach Korinth ging, um seine Kinder abzuholen, brachte er auch von dort seinen Sohn mit." Hahn compares the Euripidean story with the northern saga of Aslaug, daughter of Sigurd: "Aslaug als Kind von einem Harfner in seiner Harfe geborgen wird, so ergiebt sich in dem Zitherspiel der jungen Helden des griechischen Märchens ein neues Verbindungsglied zwischen Aslaug und Tisiphone." The story of Tisiphone is repeated in India. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, ii, 201, relates: "Ein König wendet einem Schuhmacher seine Gunst zu, und vertraut ihm sein Söhnchen an. Der Schuhmacher entführt den Knaben in seinem 4ten Jahre, beraubt ihn seiner Kostbarkeiten und verkauft ihn als Sklaven. Der neue Herr verkauft ihn an seinen Vater, der ihm seine Gunst zuwendet; diese benutzt des Königs Juwelier um ihn zu verführen des Königs Siegel zu stehlen; als ihn dieser dafür hinrichten lassen will, und ihn entkleiden lässt, erkennt er in ihm an einem Male seinen verlorenen Sohn."

The Volksmärchen are marked by childlike simplicity and naïvete. They translate the reader into a realm of extravagant fancy where

"One vast realm of wonder spreads around,  
And all the muse's tales seem truly told."

The gold that is sown so liberally is fairy gold, and the kings and princesses are fairy people. Not seldom, however, in the

midst of the thaumaturgy of the Apollonius narrative a scene is half disclosed that reveals the presence of the attentive and skillful Greek rhetorician who was the first to handle the romance. Thus the scene at the beginning of the banquet with King Archistrates is perhaps modeled after the meal of Menelaus in the *Odyssey*. Rohde thinks also that the grace of an original picture has been blurred by the copyist in such scenes as the courtship of the three youths, and the old king's roguish familiar treatment of them; the discovery of the chest by the physician, Cerimon, and his precociously smart pupil; and the half-scurrilous, half-farcical manner of the bawd.

On the other hand, Riese points out (Vorrede, p. xv) that certain boorish witticisms may likely have been introduced into the narrative by the Latin author.

Here then are sufficient indications from every source that the romance was originally a work of sophistic rhetoric, though presumably of the simpler sort after the style of Xenophon.

Its scenery is the coast lands and islands of the Mediterranean; its pirates and other malefactors are the usual evil-doers of the sophistic romance; its motives are external, accidental and fatalistic. Under the hands of the Latin scribe the rhetorical romance was transformed into a *Volksbuch*, which accounts for its widespread popularity in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

Before we leave this aspect of the romance it may be well to attend a moment to a conjecture which Prof. Erwin Rohde has developed with much ingenuity. He imagines that the Latin scribe broadened the trend of the story by an addition that is not particularly successful. In the first part of the romance Apollonius is introduced as a suitor for the hand of Antiochus' daughter. He is rebuffed and goes abroad. We should expect that his vain wooing

<sup>1</sup> The Latin text even in the oldest extant MSS. shows traces of provincialisms and of the influence of popular usage. This passage of a pseudo-classical romance into a *Volksbuch* is alluded to by Riese in his edition of 1893: "Inter quae sunt popularia quaedam, quae iam prorsus linguarum romanarum prae se ferunt imaginem, ut ablativi illi *in matrimonio postulabant, populi — homines, habet annos* (gallice *il y a des Ans*), *quid est hoc quod* (gallice *qu'est ce que*), alia.

would cause him some grief, but we have no word of sorrow or regret. On the contrary, he pledges his love to the first maiden who looks upon him with favor and compassion. King Antiochus and his daughter could be spared from the story altogether and the rest of the narrative not suffer in the least. It is true that King Antiochus reappears occasionally, and that at his shipwreck on the coast of Ethiopia Apollonius cries out that Neptune is more cruel than Antiochus. The wicked king dies by lightning and Apollonius claims his *paternal* kingdom (cum desiderassem properare ad patrium [meum] regnum percipiendum). He journeys into Egypt where he remains fourteen years. Why does he not go to Antioch? "After the loss of my dear wife I will not take possession of the kingdom," he says to his friends of Tarsus. It seems natural enough to them, but not to us. We know nothing of the kingdom for fourteen years, but when all the family are again united we learn that Apollonius took possession of the kingdom and that all was well. Prof. Rohde therefore concludes that Antiochus, his daughter and his kingdom, have nothing to do with the fable, and that the Antiochus episode had been first prefixed to the romance and then clumsily interwoven. Perhaps the Latin scribe was moved to introduce this prologue by the necessity of providing a motive sufficiently strong to send forth this luxurious king of Tyre a lonely ocean waif. The Greek poet might have found this motive, as in Xenophon, in an oracular response impelling and exhorting Apollonius to action, but the Christian poet could hardly accept the domination of human action by the oracle of a heathen *dæmon*. He must change the motive, and the one which he chose to substitute for the original he found freely developed in Greek myth and saga. The tale of the father who loves his own daughter, and who deters suitors by imposing upon them difficult tasks, is the story of CEnomaus, who, loving his daughter Hippodamia, delays her marriage through chariot races with her suitors; Sithon who loving his daughter Pallene slays her lovers in single combat; the father of Side loves his own daughter and she kills herself upon her mother's grave, and is transformed into a pomegranate tree, and her father into a buzzard (see Grimm, *Deut. Sagen*, 483 (ii,

182), and Rohde, p. 420, note, for references to Servian and Persian folk-tales).<sup>1</sup>

So much for Prof. Rohde's riddle-guessing. This much of good is in it, that it has pointed out the incongruities and the weaknesses of the tale as we have it. The whole episode of the first sojourn at Tarsus might be spared, nor is there any explanation of the sudden departure for the Pentapolitan region of Cyrene. The words of the author are "Interpositis mensibus sive diebus paucis, horante Stranguillione et Dionysiade et premente fortuna ad Pentapolitanas Cyrenæorum regiones adfirmabatur navigare ut ibi latere posset." The monument erected to Apollonius is referred to by Lycoris who advises Tharsia when in need to take refuge by the statue of her father; and Hellenicus, too, reappears at the end of all to remind Apollonius of his fidelity.

## THE ANTIQUITY OF THE STORY.

Moritz Haupt, of Berlin, wrote to Tycho Mommsen in 1857, that he knew of more than one hundred manuscripts of the Latin Apollonius. They are widely distributed, a dozen MSS. are in England, seven in Vienna (Nos. 226, 362, 480, 510, 3126, 3129, 3332), two in Breslau, three in Munich, and others in Paris, Rome,<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart (fol. 411), Berne (228), Leipsic, Göttingen, Basle and Budapest. The oldest is a Florentine Codex of the ninth or tenth century. The earliest publication of the Latin text seems to have been about 1470.<sup>3</sup> The unique copy of it in the Vienna Hofbibliothek lacks the title-page, and the volume remained undescribed until

<sup>1</sup> If the Latin scribe followed the opinion of Mallalas that Antioch was named after the son of Seleucus, he may have had a dark recollection of that particular Antiochus' love for his mother-in-law.

<sup>2</sup> O. Riemann has collated two MSS. in Rome; the one is in the Minerva Library (A. I., 21), the other in the Library of the Vatican (foundation of Queen Christina, No. 905). Both are of the thirteenth century. The collation of chapters 28-31 (where the Laurentian is at fault), is published in *Revue de Philologie*, Tome vii, 1883 ("Note sur deux Manuscrits de l' Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri"). Still another MS. in the Vatican (7666) is described by Bethmann. It is of the fifteenth century and resembles *Sloan*, 1619 (Cf. Pertz, *Archiv* 12: 402).

<sup>3</sup> Riese says *circa* 1471; Brunet "antérieure à 1480;" Grasse "vers 1470." See Hain, 1293.

it was collated by S. Singer and its readings quoted in his *Apollonius von Tyrus* (1895). The next edition was made by Marcus Velser in 1595 from an Augsburg MS. which is now lost. It is entitled "Narratio eorum quae contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio, ex membranis vetustis. Augustae Vindelicorum ad insigne pinus, anno 1595." This edition consisted of twenty-three quarto leaves. It was reprinted in Velseri Opera, 1682 (p. 677).

In 1856 appeared *Erotici Scriptores, ex nova recensione*, G. A. Hirschig, Parisiis, ed. Didot, in which between pp. 611 and 628 is found "Eroticam de Apollonio Tyrio Fabulam ex codice Parasino emendatius edidit et præfatiuncula notulisque instruxit. J. Lepaume Lingonensis." The edition is a poor one. The *præfatiuncula* occupies pp. 601-608, and is dated August, 1855.

An edition in Latin verse was edited by Dümmler in 1877—"Gesta Apollonii Regis Tyri metrica, ex codice Gandensi," edidit E. Dümmler, pp. 20, Berolini, 1877, 4°. It appeared again in "Monumenta Germaniae Historica, edidit Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum medii ævi," Berolini, 1884; it is found in the second volume—"Poetæ Latini ævi Carolini, Recensuit Ernestus Dümmler." It occupies pp. 483-506, is in leonine verse, with Virgilian reminiscences, and is printed from an eleventh-century MS. preserved in Ghent: "Codex membranaceus, saeculi XI, bibliothecæ universitatis Gandensis, Nr. 169, signatus constat 229 foliis. Scriptum autem eum esse in monasterio hujus civitatis sancti Petri testatur paginæ 454 subscriptio 'liber sancti Petri Gandensis ecclesie . . . servanto benedictio . . . tollente ma'edictio . . . qui folium ex eo tulerit uel certauerit Anathema sit.'" Dümmler in his *præfatio* says, "Poeta noster fabulam suam omnem ex historia Apollonii regis Tyrii pedestri oratione conscripta mutuatus dilatando copiosiorem ornatioremque reddidit. Utrum ad finem eam perduxerit necne ignoramus, quia fortuito duo tantum codicis folia cæteris deletis ad nostram usque ætatem pervenerunt."

Tycho Mommsen, who has spent many years of his long and learned life in the study of the Apollonius story, gave his collations of MSS. to Alexander Riese in 1871, who published in the Teubner Classics in that year a volume, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. A few years later Michael Ring edited the previously unknown Paris Codex, and published *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri e codice Parasino 4955, edidit et commentario critico instruxit, Michael Ring, pp. 20, Posonii et Lipsiæ, 1887*. Riese reviewed Ring's

edition in *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 561, and decided that the new text was of such importance as to render it necessary that his own publication should be recast. Accordingly he issued *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, iterum recensuit, Alexander Riese, Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, mdccclxxxiii*, with an entirely new Preface, in which he repeats his acknowledgments to Tycho Mommsen, and confesses his obligation to Maximilian Bonnet, who carefully collated anew the Paris Codex after the appearance of Ring's volume. This final work of Riese was completed at Frankfurt-am-Main, December, 1892.

So far as the MSS. have been examined, they are found to differ widely in language and construction, but to cling rather persistently to the type of the story. An account of such of the MSS. as have been collated may be found in Georg Penon, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1880; W. Meyer, "Abhandlung über den lateinischen Text der Geschichte des Apollonius von Tyrus" (in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch und hist. Cl. d. kön.-bay. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1872, Heft I); A. Ri ese, *præfatio to Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*; Carl Schroeder, *Griseldis*, S. xii, xiii; Mauricii Hauptii, *Opuscula*, Lipsiæ, iii, 4, 5 and 6; Piper, *Höfische Epik*, iii, 376; Zupitza, *Roman. For.*, iii, 269; Hermann Hagen, *Der Roman vom König Apollonius von Tyrus in seinen verschiedenen Bearbeitungen*, Berlin, 1878, and S. Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrus*, Halle, 1895.

The MSS. in the British Museum have been carefully studied and catalogued by L. H. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i, 161-171. He enumerates Sloane 1619 (early thirteenth century); Arundel 292, (late thirteenth century); Arundel 123 (early fourteenth century); Cotton, Vespasian A, xiii (fifteenth century); Sloane 2233 (seventeenth century); Royal 20, C. ii (fifteenth century); Additional 4857 (A.D. 1669-1670); Add. 4864 (1770), Cotton, Titus, D. iii (early fourteenth century); Royal 14, C. xi (early fourteenth century).

The editio princeps is Laurentianus lxvi, of the ninth or tenth century, in Lombardy characters. It is fairly free from grave faults and misconstructions, and would have been followed by Mommsen had it been complete, but certain parts are missing (see Riese, 1893, p. iv). The Paris Codex which M. Ring edited is next in value to the Laurentian, which it resembles, though it is much more recent, belonging to the fourteenth century. These

two MSS. Riese now assigns to the first class, and by their aid he remodeled his earlier version.

In the second class he places *Oxoniensis collegii Magdaleniæ* 50, which contains the entire story (pp. 80–108) in a handwriting of the eleventh century. *Vaticanus* 1869, was examined by W. Meyer and pronounced similar to *Oxon. Magdal.* (*Sitzungs. d. Mün. Akad.*, 1872, p. 8). *Vossianus* 113, of the ninth or tenth century (pp. 1–78), agrees with the above.

The *Tegernsee* MS., now *Munich* 19148, although mutilated (it consists of only nine and one-half leaves), is of much value, and its readings were admitted into Riese's first edition.<sup>1</sup> It coincides more often with the *Oxon.* than with the Laurentian or Parisian codex. I have examined the MS. and agree with Riese that Meyer has exaggerated the importance of its unique features (cf. Riese, vii). Even when Riese has adopted the *Tegernsee* readings without comment he does not wish his silence to be interpreted as evidence of the genuineness of the passages ("cave autem ne ex silentio meo lectiones eorum pro certo constitutas").

The *Vindobonensis* (Vienna), twelfth century, Meyer says agrees with *Tegernsee*.

Riese's third class of MSS. contains a great number of versions, more boldly and more recently tampered with. To this class he relegates *Sloanianus* 1619;<sup>2</sup> *Bodleianus* 247 (Laud. H. 39) (twelfth or thirteenth century); *Monacensis* 215 (anno 1462);<sup>3</sup> and *Bernensis* 208 (saec. xiii).<sup>4</sup>

As the MSS. have come to be better known, a change of opinion has taken place as to their relative value. Teuffel believed the third class which I have just cited to contain the best versions (see

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Traube, *Neues Archiv. d. Gesellschaft für Ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 10, 1884, p. 382.

Riese drew so liberally from the different MSS. in preparing his edition that Rohde described his method as "eine wunderliche eklektische Vermischung der Texte" (*Der griechische Roman*, 418). Riese's first edition is reviewed in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 2, 1839–1840; *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 50, 1872, p. 1370; *Philologischer Anzeiger*, iii, 1871, 536–539; *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1871, Vol. 103, p. 854; *Philologus*, xxxi, 562.

<sup>2</sup> Riese believes *Sloan* 1619 to belong to the eleventh century; Ward dates it in the thirteenth century; it is impossible that it should be of the eleventh century.

<sup>3</sup> This MS. I have collated; it is a bold paraphrase, without linguistic or literary value.

<sup>4</sup> The Berne MS. was collated by H. Hagen. Cf. *Philol. Ans.*, ed. Leutsch, 1871.

his account of *Sloan* 1619, in *Rh. Mus.* 1872, p. 103). Haupt also believed the Velser codex to be preferable to those out of which Riese composed his first edition. And Velser's Augsburg MS. belonged very clearly to the same class as *Sloan* and *Berne*. For proof that Velser's text was corrupted, cf. Riese, 1893, pp. xi, xii.

The earliest reference to Apollonius that has been discovered is in the sacred lyrics of Venantius Fortunatus,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Poitiers, (inter annos 566 et 568) where he compares his own sad, exiled wanderings in Gaul with those of the shipwrecked Apollonius—

“Tristius erro nimis, patriis vagus exsul ab oris,  
Quam sit Apolloniis naufragus hospes aquis.”

Another reference is found in the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, written about 750 A.D. In the thirteenth chapter, entitled “*Gesta Wandonis abbatis cornobii Fontanellensis*,” occurs the following: “Wando presbyter a patre Baldrico nomine progenitus territorio Tellau ortus, regimen assumpsit cornobii ab anno dominicæ incarnationis 742.” Among the books belonging to this abbot is cited, “Item historiam Apollonii regis Tyri in codice uno” (see *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, edidit G. H. Pertz. *Scriptorum. Tomus ii*, Hannover, 1829, p. 287).

A still earlier reference than the former is in “*Tractat de dubiis nominibus*,” a grammatical index found in a Vienna MS. of the seventh century. The latest writer cited in it is the poet Dynamius, a Gaul of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> It seems clearly made out that the “index” was compiled in the Merovingian times, or, as Haupt says, “In einer Zeit wo im Uebergang des Lateins in die romanischen Sprachen durch Erhebung der Accusative zu Nominativen und durch andere Vermischungen und Entstellungen von denen besonders Urkunden vielfache Beispiele darbieten, das Geschlecht der Wörter unkenntlich wurde, später als die romanische Sprachniedersetzung

<sup>1</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Miscellanea* Lib. vi, cap. 10, lines 5 and 6. The lines are cited as above in Migne's *Patrologia* T. 88, and Migne reprints the best edition of Fortunatus, that of the Benedictine, Mich. Ang. Luschi. Luschi notices the variants “Apollonius” and “Apollonia,” but prefers “Apolloniis,” as above. Fortunatus is venerated in the diocese of Poitiers as a saint, his feast being celebrated December 14.

<sup>2</sup> Dynamius, Governor of Marseilles, was born at Arles, and lived at the end of the sixth century. See Moreri, *Dict. Hist.*, 1725, iii, 646, and *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. 12.

vollbracht war und das Latein in den Karolingischen Schulen ungetrübt durch romanische Formen gelehrt ward, war zu so ganz trivialen Bemerkungen wie sie jenes Verzeichniss enthält ebensowenig ein Anlass als sich gleichartige Beispiele finden" (Haupt, *Opuscula*, p. 13). The reference in the "De dubiis" reads "Gymnasium generis neutri sicut balneum in Apollonio 'gymnasium patet.'" The quotation is from the scene in *Pentapolis*, when the boys cry aloud, "Audite, cives, audite, peregrini, ingenui et servi, *gymnasium patet*" (see *Rh. Museum für Philologie*, neue Folge xxvi, S. 638-9, xxvii, 103-114).

In chapter 34, forty aurii are considered more than a half libra auri, yet not a whole one; that is, one pound of gold is coined into fifty pieces, which coincides with the practice of the time after Caracalla.<sup>1</sup> After Constantine it became customary to compute by solidi. The oldest Latin version therefore would appear to have been composed in the time between Caracalla and Constantine (see W. Christ, *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaft zu München Cl.*, 1872, p. 4, and Marquardt *Röm. Altertum*, iii, 2, 18, 24).

As the translation was certainly made before the verses of Venantius and the treatise "De dubiis," it was as certainly made after Symposius, whose riddles are inserted. The collection of riddles is contained in many MSS. The oldest is the Codex Salmasianus, belonging to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. The riddles themselves are of earlier date. Teuffel says: "Etwa aus dem vierten bis fünften Jahrhundert stammen wohl die hundert Räthseldichter des Symphosius. Sie bestehen je aus drei Hexametern nebst einem ungeschickten Prolog. Sprache und Versbau sind in reinem Geschmacke und zeigen den Verfasser als einen Nachahmer des Ausonius," (Teuffel, p. 1061, 3d ed.; see also Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, ii, 135; and Riese, *Zeitschrift für Oestreich. Gymn.*, xix, 1868, 483-500).

From these arguments we may infer, as Velser, Fabricius<sup>2</sup> and Douce have done, that the original Latin text was compiled some time in the fifth century. Teuffel says, "in the course of the sixth century," which agrees also with the general character of the Latin

<sup>1</sup> Haec dicens protulit XL Aureos et dedit in Manu virginis et dicit, etc. . . . . cui juvenis ait "si salva sis, indica mihi, quantum dedit at te juvenis," etc. . . . . Puella ait "quater denos mihi Aureos dedit." Juvenis ait "Malum illi sit! quid magnum illi fuisset, homini tam diviti, si libram auri tibi daret integrum? Ut ergo scias, me esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integrum." (Riese, 1893, p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, Hamburg, 1721, l. 5, c. 6.

and especially with the peculiar use of *dos* in a sense opposite to the Latin meaning, but peculiar to the German period == pretium puellæ, *Muntschatz*. (Teuffel, 481.)

## THE PERSISTENCE OF THE STORY.

The Apollonius Saga is remarkable for its *persistence* and its *stability*, that is for its duration and vitality, and for its retention of its original character and form. We will consider first its *persistence*.

The remarkable number of MSS. attests the wide popularity of the story before the introduction of printing. William, Bishop of Tyre, in the twelfth century, in referring to his bishopric, testifies to the fame of the romance—"ex hac etiam et Hiram Salomonis co-operator ad aedificium templi domini rex fuit et Apollonius *gesta cuius celebrem et late vulgatam habent historiam.*" About 1186 Godfrey of Viterbo related the story as authentic history in his *Pantheon, or Universal Chronicle* (Pertz, *Archiv* v, 166; vii, 559), a sort of rhymed record of events from Adam to Godfrey. The author was chaplain to Conrad III, Frederick I and Henry VI. The principal MSS. of the work are Vienna 3406, and Paris 5003. It has been printed in *Germanicorum Scriptorum Tomus alter, ex bibliotheca Joannis Pistorii Nidani D. editio tertia curante B. G. Struvio, Ratisbonæ, Sumptibus J. C. Pezzi, 1726*, pp. 175-181.

Godfrey's *Pantheon* is an important monument and deserves more particular attention. My study is based upon a copy in my own possession. It is a ponderous folio with the title: *Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri qui Chronicæ appellantur, xx, omnes omnium seculorum et gentium, tam sacras quam prophanas Historias complectentes: per V. C. Basiliae ex officina Jacobi Parci* (1559). It is dedicated to Pope Urban III (1185-1187).

After a description of Rome and Carthage, of Asdrubal and Hannibal, we arrive at the subject of our story, in column 282—“His temporibus Apollonius rex Tyri et Sidonis ab Antiocho juniore Seleuco rege à regno Tyri et Sidonis fugatur: qui navigio fugiens, mira pericula patitur.” Gower explicitly says that he derived the story as narrated in *Confessio Amantis* from these chapters of the *Pantheon*.

“Of a cronique in daiēs gon  
The wiche is cleped Panteon  
In lovēs cause I redē thus.”

The titles of Godfrey's chapters will be sufficient to indicate the course of his narrative and its close parallel to the oldest Latin MSS.

1. De Apollonio rege Tyri et Sidonis, et de ejus infortunis atque fortunis.
2. De eodem Apollonio fugiente a facie Antiochi.
3. Item de eodem Apollonio naufragium passo.
4. Item de Apollonio, ubi suscepit eum rex Archistrates et dat ei filiam suam.
5. Item de Apol., ubi mortuo Antiocho ipse eligitur in imperium Antiochiae.
6. Apol. tendit Antiochiam, sed uxor ejus in partu mortua proiecitur in mare.
7. Apol. relicta filia in urbe Tharsia, pergit Antiochiam.
8. Tharsia, filia Apollonii capitur a piratis et venditur lenoni in civitate Militena.
9. Tharsia venditur a piratis in urbe Militena ubi regnat Athenagoras, qui saluat eam a Stupro.
10. Apol. pergit ab Antiochia in Tharsiam urbem requirere Tharsiam filiam suam.
11. Apol. recognoscit et recipit filiam suam in urbe Militena, per regem Athenagoram.
12. Tharsia recognoscitur a patre suo Apollonio.
13. Apol. recipit filiam ignotam et fit lætitia magna in urbe Militena.

Apoolonius [*sic*] visitat sacerum Archistratem.

Godfrey's stanza consists of two rhyming hexameters and a pentameter verse. For further editions of Godfrey, cf. Grässe, *Tresor de livres rares et précieux*, iii, 100.

It is said in the bibliographies of Apollonius that the story is contained in Vincentius Bellovac, *Speculum hystoriale*, printed at Augsburg in 1474, but after struggling patiently through the three immense folios in the British Museum I must confess that I have been unable to find the slightest trace of the romance.

There are three main sources of the endless stories of Apollonius in the Middle Ages. They are either founded upon the Latin Historia, or they proceed from Godfrey, or the *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Editions by Oesterley, 1872, and Keller, 1842. The Colmar MS. (fourteenth century) is the only old MS. which contains the Apollonius. Cf. Wichert, *Zeitsch. f. deut. Geschichtsforschung*, vi.

From Godfrey the story entered England (Gower and Shakespeare) and North and South Germany ; from the *Gesta Romanorum* arose the popular versions among the romance peoples, and in Holland, Hungary, Sweden and Russia. In my review of the various national versions of the story I shall indicate whenever possible the genesis and dependence of the texts.

## GERMAN VERSIONS.

Alexanderlied of the early twelfth century closes its account of the plundering of Tyre with the lines

“Zerstoeret lac do Tyrus  
die stiffe sint der Künec Apollonius  
von dem di bnoch sagent noch  
den der Künec Antioch  
über mer jagete  
wande er ime sagete  
ein retische mit vorhten  
daz was mit bedachten [bedecketen] worten  
geshriven in einem brief  
daz er sin selbes tohter beslief.”

Lamprecht who wrote these lines lived during the first half of the twelfth century, and his source of information was an old romantic poem of Alexander by Alberic de Besançon,<sup>1</sup> of which the beginning only survives. Weismann, who edited Lamprecht in 1850, was led by the line “Geshriven in einem brief,” to believe that L. knew the story inaccurately. Now in a Stuttgart MS. of the Latin Apollonius certain German verses in the form of a narrative are appended to the riddles, whence Massmann concluded, in connection with Lamprecht's own words, that there must have been a German version of the story before Lamprecht. But Weismann and Penon after him have regarded these verses as a first attempt and not as verses copied from a previously existing versification of the story (see Massmann, *Denkmäler*, 1828, Vorrede, p. 10, and Lamprecht's *Alexander*, v, 1054). The explanation of the “brief” or “letter” as found in the *Alexander* poem is not difficult. In Shakespeare Antioch hands to Pericles a writing which contains the riddle, saying :

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koberstein *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, i, 161; Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 2me édition, 17-20.

"*Read* the conclusion, then ;  
 Which read and not expounded, 'tis decreed,  
 As these before thee, thou thyself shalt bleed" (i, 1<sup>1</sup>)

In Godfrey of Viterbo, too, "Antiochi regis scelerum problemata legit," but there the riddles are read over the gate of the city where they are inscribed. The Lapaume edition has it that the riddle had been inscribed upon the gate of the city (*quia questio conditio-  
nis in porta civitatis scripta erat*). In the Cretan version the riddle is written upon the wall. Other versions, the Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Copland, etc., repeat the same method of conveying the riddle to Apollonius. Shakespeare is the only one who speaks of the riddle as written upon *paper*; all the others have it written over the gate or on the wall. Lamprecht's reference indicates that in some lost version the narrator had anticipated Shakespeare in this invention. Lamprecht's lines quoted above may be translated "King Apollonius of whom the books still tell, whom King Antioch pursued over seas because he told him a gruesome riddle, which was written with covered words, *in a letter*." They stand thus in the Strassburg MS. of the Alexander. The Vorau version omits the reference to the "covered words" (*bedecketen worten*) and reads, "he solved a riddle in a letter" (missive). The original meaning no doubt was, as in the lines above quoted, that the *riddle* was communicated in a letter, but was misinterpreted by Kinzel, who supposed the *solution* to be conveyed in a letter, *i. e.* in a missive. The Basle edition also interprets after this fashion and states explicitly "dar umb, daz er im sagte und im des sante brieff, daz er sin dochter besließ" (because he told him, and sent him a letter to that effect, that he, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

The first poet in Germany to work independently upon the Saga was Heinrich von Neustadt, who finished his *Apollonius von Tyr-  
land* (a poem of 20,893 verses) at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Heinrich was a physician in Vienna, and naturally was interested in the story of the resuscitation of Lucina, the wife of Apollonius. In his poem he shows an interest in natural history, and introduces

<sup>1</sup> In Gower and Twine the riddle is *spoken*, as in the Latin, *not read*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Singer, p. 37.

\* Heinrich von Neustadt, *Apollonius. von Gotes Zuokunft*, herausgegeben von Joseph Strobl, Wien, 1875. Pudmenzky, *Shakespeare's Pericles und der Apol-  
lonius des Heinrich von Neustadt*, Detmold, 1884.

lists of fishes, stones and spices. But the deviations from the *Historia* we will consider elsewhere (verses 2913-15106 relate to incidents which are not found in the Latin story).

At the close of the poem Henry introduces into his rhyme his name and address—

“ Wie ditz puoch si erdaht  
unde in deutsche rime prahrt  
daz sage ich eu dast pillich  
ez geschach ze Wienne in Osterrich  
waz ich sage daz ist war  
ez sint me dau tousent jar  
daz ditz puoch zem ersten wart geschriben  
in Latin: sit ez ist pliben  
*das es nie von keinem man*  
*solhe rime geschriben gewan*,<sup>1</sup>  
wer ditz puoch gedichtet hat  
daz sage ich eu des ist niht rat,  
ein schoeneu frouwe in drumbe pat :  
Meister Heinrich von der Neuenstat  
ein arzet von den puochen.  
wil in ieman suochen  
er ist gesezzen an dem Graben  
got muez in in seiner huote haben ”

(*Strohl.*, p. 124, lines 20,844-20,861).

In *Von Gotes Zuokunft* (line 467), the poet again alludes to his Austrian nativity. The latin book of the Apollonius he says he obtained from Nicolas of Stadlaw :

“der saelic pfarraere  
her Niclas von Stadlouwe.”

Nicolas lived, as Ferdinand Wolf has demonstrated (*Wiener Jahrbücher der L.* ii, 56, 257), in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. He appears in the records of the years 1297-1318, together with Bernhard von Krannest, of whom there are records from 1304 until 1332, and who also is referred to in the poem (line 13,696). In 1312 Heinrich and his wife Alheit were given the Freisinger-hofe, located upon the Graben in Vienna. It was therefore after he was “gesezzen an dem Graben,” or after 1312, that he wrote *Apollonius*, which from various other reasons is believed to have been preceded by the other composition of the same author (*Von Gotes*

<sup>1</sup> This declaration that before Heinrich no translation had been made from the Latin into German rhyme, strengthens Weismann's theory quoted above.

*Zuokunft),* in which there is no reference to the house upon the Graben.

Two German prose translations of the Latin text of the *Historia* were published in 1873 by Carl Schröder.<sup>1</sup> The first is from a manuscript of the fifteenth century, now in Leipzig,<sup>2</sup> in the handwriting of a Saxon monk who lived probably in the neighborhood of Meissen.<sup>3</sup> The other is in a MS. of the same century at Donaueschingen, written in the Suabian dialect and closely resembling the *Volksbuch* written by Heinrich Steinhöwel and published by Gintherus Zainer von Reutlingen at Antwerp, in 1471—*Die hystory des Küniges Appolonij vo latin zu deutsch gemachet, Gintherus Zainer von Reutlingen. Augspurg, 1471*, fol. (31 leaves; 35 lines to the full page; without pagination, signature or catch words). The book is believed by some to have been written in 1461, by others in 1464. An acrostic found in the poem gives the date of composition. Bartsch (*Germanische Studien*, ii, 305) fixes the date at 1461; Singer at 1464. Heinrich Steinhöwel, the author, was born in 1412 at Weil. He visited Italy, studied medicine at Padua, and practiced his profession in Esslingen. He died at Ulm in 1483.<sup>4</sup> He was a translator, and published a rendering of Petrarch's Latin version of Boccaccio's *Griseldis*. He also translated Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, which was printed by Johann Zainer von Reutlingen, 1473, and reprinted by Anton Sorg, 1479. It is also published by Karl Drescher in *Bibliothek des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, Vol. 205.

This Augsburg *Apollonius* was reprinted by Joh. Bemler in 1476; Anth. Sorg, 1479 and 1480; at Ulm, 1495; again at Ulm, by Hans Zeiner, 1499, and at Augsburg, by H. Froschauer, 1516. It is the same book that bears the title *Von Künig Appolonio. Eyn schöne und lustige Histori nit mynders nutzlich dann kurtzweilig zu*

<sup>1</sup> "Griseldis. Apollonius von Tyrus. Aus Handschriften herausgegeben von Carl Schröder, Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1873." This is Heft ii, Pt. 5, of *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterländischer Sprache und Altertümern in Leipzig*, pp. 85–131.

<sup>2</sup> Haupt speaks of another MS. in Breslau (*Opuscula*, iii, 28).

<sup>3</sup> A conjecture of Schröder, adopted by Penon.

<sup>4</sup> Paul, *Grundriss*, ii, i, 403 (article by F. Vogt), Wackernagel-Martin, *Gesch. der deut. Lit.*, S. 454, A. 234, gives 1420 as the year of birth. For the biography of Steinhöwel, see Keller *Litteratur Verein*, 51: 673, and Wunderlich, *St. und das Decameron*, 1889.

lesen. . . . Vor Jarn durch D. Gotfrid von Viterb. im latein beschrieben. Nachmaln inns Teutsch verwendet. 1540, Augsburg, H. Steyner. And again, Ein schöne History Appolonius, wie er von seinem Landt vertrieben, schiffbruch und mancherlei unglück erlitten, und doch endlich durch Glück wider in sein Landt kommen ist. Augsburg, 1550.<sup>1</sup>

Steinhöwel fixes the date of the reign of Apollonius with great care :—

“ Das ist ain Vorred in die hystorie des Küniges Appolonii das man wisse wen er geregnieret hab.”

He arrives at the proper period by a gradual descent from Eden and the flood to the fall of Troy, the building of Rome, the division of the world after the death of Alexander, etc.

There is a mild pathos and humor in the author's personal reminiscence and profession :

“ Ett ichs geton sumnus bass  
Ain rapp singt all zeit cras cras cras,  
In solichem grang han ich gelebt  
Nun und viertzig iar in Hoffnung gewebt  
Ruwiger als vergangen Zeitt  
Ich gedacht allweg bis morn beitt  
Cumst du dannoch gelernen wo!  
Usz dem bleib ich an künsten vol.”

After settling the time of the reign, the translator enters upon a description of the incest, in which he closely resembles Wynkyn de Worde (1510). Apollonius guesses the king's riddle, whereupon Antiochus lies angrily saying that his solution “ in no way answers the question.” When Apollonius reaches home he looks in his books and finds that in all things he has answered the king aright. He departs from Tyre in the middle hour of the night, unknown to all the citizens. When his flight is discovered there is great sadness, no dancing, no marriages—“ alle tabernen waren beschlossen.” Elemitus (Hellenicus) is the bearer of the warning to Apollonius. The prince relieves the distress of Tarsus with 100,000 measures of wheat, declines compensation, and the grateful burghers erect a statue of him with corn in his right hand and his left foot spurning gold. The king's daughter in this version is called Cleopatra;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grässle, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, i, 165; Grässle, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literatürgeschichte*, ii, 3: 459, 460.

<sup>2</sup> She is called “ Camilla” in two Latin MSS., Vienna 362 and Vienna 510, (sec xiii), and the daughter of Antiochus is called in them Creusa.

she is instructed in music by Apollonius, to whom she says, " You are called Apollonius ; it were better to call you Apollo." As they walk by the seashore a ship approaches land. " We are from Tyre," says the captain. " A land well known to me," replies Apollonius. " Do you know Apollonius ?" queries the captain, and Apollonius replies, " Ja, ich kenn im so wol als mich selber." Whereupon the king says, " Yesterday he was like me, to-day he is a lord of the earth ; before this he has been my son, now I am less than he." The rest of the story follows closely the outlines of the *Historia*.

*Ain Hübsche Hystori von dem König Appoloniis* [with woodcuts], Augspurg, 1552 ; Hans Zimmerman. This is a reprint with slight changes of the edition of 1471. The woodcuts are curious : on the title page is a picture of Alexander the Great, and the other illustrations represent the king issuing from his daughter's chamber ; the king stating the riddle to the princely suitors ; Apollonius setting forth on his voyage homeward from Antioch ; the return of Taliarchus from an unsuccessful journey, and reporting to the king the flight of Apollonius ; the landing of Apollonius in Tarsus ; his boats laden with bags of corn ; relieving the famine ; shipwreck ; fisherman receiving Apollonius ; Apollonius in the bath at Pentapolis ; at table with Archistrates and his daughter ; the king's daughter playing on the harp ; the love-sick daughter visited by her father ; the king joining the hands of the lovers ; the burning of Antiochus and his daughter ; the casting overboard of the chest ; Cerimon finding the chest ; Stranguillio and Dionysia with the infant Tharsia ; death of Ligorides ; Philomancia and Tharsia in school ; pirates escaping with Tharsia ; Tharsia sold to the Gemein Frawenhausz ; arrival of Apollonius ; interview of Athenagoras and Tharsia ; Apollonius, Tharsia and her husband sail for Ephesus ; Apollonius recognizes " Cleopatra," his wife ; journey in state to Antioch ; rewarding the fisherman. The whole eventful history ends with this rustic clapping of hands and sequent prayer :

" Damit sag ich Lob, Danck und Eer  
 Alpha und ort widerkeer  
 Pillich wann er hat gegeben  
 Appolonius strenges Leben  
 Klar zu Teutschem ausz Latein  
 Etlicher alten Hystoryen.  
 Mit namen liess ich nicht verderben  
 Doctor Gotfrides von Viterben

Obersters Cronickschreyben  
 Mit dem die Kirch auch wil beleyben  
 Jesus Christ Helff uns Gnad erwerben  
 Nit lasz uns in den Sinden sterben  
 Ewig das wir sind behalten  
 Mit allen Rainen Jungen Alten."

Hie endet sich die Hystory des Künigs Appolonius. Getruckt  
 und Vollendt in diser Kayserlichen uund Loblichen Stat Augspurg.  
 Durch Hausen Zimmerman, Anno MDLII.

## SCANDINAVIAN VERSIONS.

*Eine schöne unde kortwylige Historia vam Könige Appollonio wo he van Landt unde Lüden vordreven unde vorjaget . . . unde doch thom lesten wedder in syn Lundt gekamen ys.* Hamborch, 1601, octavo. This version by Herman Moller, which follows the Augsburg of 1552, corresponds to the Danish folkbook entitled, *En dejlik og skyjn Historie om Kong Apollonio i hvilken Lykkens Hjul og Verdens Ustadighed beskrives; lystig og fornøjelig at læse og høre.* Kjbenhavn, udi dette Aar, 1627. (The beautiful and charming history of King Apollonius, in which the wheel of fortune and the mutability of life are described; jolly and novel to read and hear.) A copy of this scarce book is in the Karen Brahes Library in Odensee (Finland). Another edition is dated 1731 (see Grundtvig, *Om Nordens gamle Literatur*, Copenhagen, 1867, p. 5. It is also quoted in Rasmus Nyerup, *Almindelig Morskabslesning*, Copenhagen, 1816, p. 168, 169. Cf. Haupt, *Opuscula*, iii, 29).

The same version (corresponding to the *Gesta Romanorum* and containing two riddles—unda and navis) was printed at Copenhagen, 1660, and a translation of it (Icelandic) is “Additional MS. 4857” in the British Museum. The title, identical in meaning with the Danish, is “Ein Agiæt og fogur Historia wmm Kong Apollonius i huorre luckunnar og veralldarin nar östodugleike skrifast miog nitsamleg ad heira og lesa Prented i Kaupmannahafn, af Christen Jenssyne Wering Acad. og Bökprykiara, anno 1660, Sagann af Apollonius Konunge til Tyro,” January 7, 1670.

“Additional MS.” 4864 (British Museum) is a modified version of the former.

The Apollonius is also to be found in Rafn’s translation of the Didrig saga, *Nordiske Fortids Sagør efter den udgivne islandske*

*elser gamle nordiske Grundskrift*, oversatte of C. G. Rafn, P. D. Tredie Bind, Kjobenhavn, 1830. The Apollonius is found on pages 3, 231-238, 242-247, 252-254, 257.

The Swedish version bears the title "*Apollonii Konungens af Tyro Historia uti hwilken Lyckornes Hjul, och thenna Werldenes Ostadighet beskrifwes: Med Lustiga Fragor och Gator beprydd och Nu efter Mangas astundan pa nytt förfärdigat utgifwen af Andrea Johan Arosiandro Tryckt,*" (*The History of King Apollonius of Tyre*, in which fortune's wheel and the world's unsteadiness are described, with merry questions and riddles, and now after many requests, revised and published anew). It was issued in 1732, and again in 1747. The last three pages of the 1747 edition of this little book are taken up with a tavern song, "En wisa som lämpas kan til Historien om en man som sin Hustru bortsälde til Röftware, och huru hon blifwit frälst ifran döden" (A song which may be applied to the history of a man who sold his wife to a robber, and how she was rescued from death). The edition 1747<sup>1</sup> is not recorded in Bäckström, whose Index records editions of 1642, 1732 and 1835.

The Swedish version is derived from the *Gesta Romanorum* (see parallelisms in Singer, pp. 130-132). There are also points of resemblance with Steinhöwel which induced Haupt to believe that the Danish and Swedish books were both indebted to that text, particularly as the "wheel of fortune" plays so important a part in Steinhöwel.

#### DANISH BALLAD.

In 1880, Rudolph Klein's *Kort Udsigt over det philologisk-historiske Samfunds Virksomhed*, 1878-1880 (Copenhagen), contained a brief of a paper presented by Kr. Nyrop upon "De Historia Apollonii regis Tyri," in which a singular ballad of the thirteenth century relating to the shipwreck of Apollonius was described. The ballad had been referred to by Haupt (*Opuscula*, iii, 29), a fact of which Nyrop appeared to be ignorant, and it was published in Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, ii, 88.

The ballad is limited to a single episode, the shipwreck of Apollonius. Nyrop compared it with the *Chanson de Jourdain de Blaivies*. As the ship sinks, Apollonius, according to the ballad, is

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for my examination of this book at the University of Lund to my friend, Prof. Hjelmérus.

thrown upon a rock, but retains his lyre upon which he plays. Some fishermen, attracted by the sound, draw near. They say : "We have fished here eighteen years, and lived in darkness and light ; now is come hither a sea-demon (a haffuetrold) who will spoil our fishing."

Apollonius says : "I am no sea-demon ; I am a poor shipwrecked man ; may God bring me safe to land." "Are you a Christian ?" ask the fishers, "and can you pray to Jesus, the Son of Mary, who died for us all ?" He raises his right hand, makes the sign of the cross and cries : "Help me now, Jesus, the Son of Mary, who died to save me."

In the old French poem the shipwrecked Jourdain has no lyre whereon to play, but he wails so loud that the fishers hear him. The poem proceeds :

Si com Jordains se gaimentoit ainsiz,  
Garde par mer, voit un home venir  
En un batel qui moult estoit petis,  
Et quiert poissans, c'est li ars, dont il vit ;  
Et li peschierres tout droit a lui s'en vint,  
Et li demande : " Va, quel chose iez tu ci ?  
Se iez fantosmes, de deu te contredi,  
Que de parler n'aiez vers moi loisir."  
Et dist Jordains : " Se dex m'ait, nenil ;  
Ainz sui uns anfes d'autre terre chaitis.  
Parmi la mer m'en venoie un jueudi  
A grant compaingne de chevaliers gentiz ;  
Mais Sarrazin nouz orent assaillis,  
Vos gens ocistrent et s'en remest des vis," etc.  
(Jourdain de Blaivies, ed. Hofmann, p. 142, lines 1296-1309).

The resemblance here is more than accidental. The circumstance is found in neither the Latin *Historia* nor any of the other versions. Riese reads, "Et prosternens se illius ad pedes effusis lacrimis ait 'miserere mei, quicumque es, succurre naufrago et egeno, non humilibus natalibus genito ! Et ut scias, cui miserearis, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius,' " etc. Nyrop's conclusion was that in Denmark as in France there had been two diverse redactions, and that the Danish folks-book, a translation, as has been said, of the Augsburg folks-book, had no connection whatever with Jourdain de Blaivies.

## DUTCH VERSIONS.

The story of Apollonius entered the Netherlands through the *Gesta Romanorum*, of the Dutch translation of which—*Die Gesta of gheschiedenissen van Romen*—there are three editions—Gouda, 1481, Delft, 1483, and Zwolle, 1484 (cf. Campbell, *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 226, 227).

The first popular version of the story apart from the *Gesta*, but derived from it, appeared in Delft in 1493, entitled *Die schoone ende die Suuerliche historie van Appollonius van Thyro*. The book is excessively rare; only two copies, I believe, are known to exist—one is in the Bibliothèque National of Paris,<sup>1</sup> the other is in the library of the Zeeland Society of Sciences at Middelburg (Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen).<sup>2</sup> The directors of the Society permitted Dr. Georg Penon to borrow the little book (*boekje*) and to copy it. His account of it is in his *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Groningen, 1880, pp. 109–113, and the book itself is reprinted in the same work (123–182). Penon follows the original almost literally and indicates in footnotes the passages in which it differs from the *Gesta*,<sup>3</sup> and occasionally appends the reading of the Latin *Historia*, in Riese's edition.

The resemblance of the folks-book to the *Gesta* is so marked that Penon believes the former to have been a version made by a bookseller who was impressed with the story as he found it in the *Gesta* and who believed that it would make a popular book if printed independently. Penon comments indignantly upon Grässe's "guess" that the Netherland book was a translation from the German of Steinhöwel. "Woher das holländische Volksbuch ist, ob aus dem Deutschen, was am Wahrscheinlichsten ist, oder unmittelbar aus dem Lateinischen, ist noch nicht entschieden," says Grässe (*Lehrbuch*, ii, 3, 458), to which Penon replies, "Is nog niet beslist! Hoe komt de man bij zoo'n praatje? Wie zou beslis-

<sup>1</sup> The book was formerly in the library of the Hague, but was taken to Paris in 1811 (cf. Campbell, *Annales*, p. 267).

<sup>2</sup> The book is described by Campbell, *Annales*, No. 965, Hain *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 1303, and by Grässe and Brunet, but it was never seen by the two latter. Even the learned librarian at the Hague (L. Ph. C. van den Bergh) says in his *Nederlandsche Volksromans*, p. 158, that this book is known to him only by name—"alleen bij naam kent."

<sup>3</sup> The copy of the *Gesta* used by Penon for comparison was the edition of Johannes de Westfalia, 1484.

sen? Gewis alleen hij, die het Nederlandsche Volksboek gelezen had. En Grässe heeft het boek gewis nooit gezien."<sup>1</sup> Following Grässe's venturesome conjecture, the Dutch writer, A. Winkler Prins (*Geillustreerde Encyclopædie*, ii, 91), declares the folks-book to have been made after the German model: "de Nederlandsche overzetting vermoedelijk naar eene Duitsche."

The adventures of Apollonius were dramatized in Holland and published in 1634, under the title, "*Twee Tragi-comedien in prosa, d'Eene van Appollonius, Prince van Tyro, Ende d'ander van den selven, ende van Tharsia syn Dochter. Wesende niet alleen lustigh ende vermakelijck om lesen: maer oock vorderlijch om weten, hoe men hem in voorspoet ende teghenspoet behoort te draghen. Nu van nieus oversien ende verbetert door P. B. C. ins 'Graven-hage, Ghedruckt by Aert Meuris, Boeck-verkooper woonende inde Papestraet, in den Bijbel, Anno 1634.*" The first part has eighty-four pages, the second part eighty pages without separate title<sup>2</sup> and with continuous pagination. It is possible that the work was printed before 1634 and that the words "nu van nieus oversien ende verbetert" refer to the prior publication. An imprint of 1617 (The Hague) is mentioned in the *Biographisch Woordenboek* of Huberts, Elberts and van den Branden, p. 48, but I know nothing of the existence of the book.

The *Twee Tragi-comedien* was written by Pieter Bor Christiaensz. In the Preface, addressed to his nephew, "the respectable, pious, and intelligent" ["den Eersamen, Vromen, ende verstandighen"] "Pietor Bor Jansz., Secretaris van den Gherechte der Stadt Utrecht," the author tells how he came to write the play; he had read, he says, in "seker oudt versuft Boeck." The book was most likely the *Gesta* and not the folks-book of 1493. Dr. Penon discovered that in the play Apollonius sells his wheat to the people of Tarsus for *acht penningen* a bushel, which corresponds to the *Gesta's acht placken*, but not to the folks-book's *vier hellinks*. Moreover, in the play, as in the *Gesta*, Lucina gives to Apollonius a present of ten maidens ("tien Meyskens"), of which gift there is no reference in the folks-book.

<sup>1</sup> Penon, *Bijdragen*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Penon observes that the *Catalogue of the Library of the Society of Netherland Literature at Leiden* (*Catalogus der Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden, Derde Gedeelte, Nederlandsch Tooneel [stage]*), 1877, p. xxvii, cites this work under two titles.

The dramatist evidently found himself embarrassed by the variety of adventure in his story, and, while it is unlikely that he was familiar with Shakespeare's *Pericles*, he resorts to the introduction of characters who are strangers to the plot but who by their conversation account for the many incidents for which the action of the drama has no room or time—an expedient not unlike the introduction of Gower as chorus. Bor lived at the time of the rhetorical guilds and he introduces upon the stage characters after the manner of the *rederijkersperiode*, as, for example, *Fama, Verdriet en Blyschap* (Chagrin and Gayety), *Verneem-al en Veel-snaps* (Eavesdropper and Gossip). Bor's verse is monotonous and drowsy, and, as the Dutch proverb says, "hangs together like dry sand."

There is yet another drama in the literature of Holland—*Apollonius, Koningh van Tyrus, Treuer-spel* (Amsterdam, Jacob Vinckel, 1662)—which has the name but not the story of our Apollonius. It is the performance of the cruelties of a mad king, and while in the *dramatis personæ* we find the familiar names Apollonius, Licoris, Stragilio, Archistratus, and Antiochus, yet the characters are changed, and Antiochus is a mild and benevolent king of Syria, and Apollonius is a murdering madman. The work is dedicated to a woman well known in the history of Netherland literature, Anna van Hoorn (wife of Cornelis van Vlooswyck), and the dedicatory declaration that the play is none of his invention, but the work of another hand, left in his care by the real author, who had departed on a journey. D. Lingelbach, who writes the dedication or inscription (*Opdracht*), concludes, "Ontfangh dan, Hooghwaerde Vrouwe, 't geen ick UE opdrage: niet als eygen, maer als een werck dat vry hooger draest" ("receive, estimable lady, this work, which I dedicate to you, not as mine, but as a work which *trots much higher*"). The dedication is dated "Amsterdam, den 4 van Grasmaent [April 4], Anno 1662." Maugre this denial of authorship the work is nevertheless ascribed to Lingelbach by Grässe (*Tresor*, i, 166), Schröder (*Griseldis*, lxxix), and in the Catalogue of the Library of the Maatschappij der Neder. Leterkunde te Leiden (iii, No. 432).

Still another Dutch version is *De Wonderlyke Gevallen van Apollonius van Tyr*, T'Amsterdam, by Isaac Trojel, Boeckverkoper op 't Rokkin, in M. Antonius (i. e., "at the sign of Marcus Antonius"), 1710. The little work is dedicated to Jan Munter Cornelis, "Geheimschryver van de vermaerde Koopstad Amsterdam" (clerk

of the celebrated commercial city Amsterdam). Trojel says in his dedication that he has sought to be brief in the narrative of adventures, not diffuse (*wytlöpig*), and that he has translated the story from the Latin *Historia*, and mentions Velser's edition. Penon's attention, after the publication of his work, was called to this rare book by Mr. A. van Wessem, of Tiel (a judge of that city), a possessor of a copy.

## HUNGARIAN VERSIONS.

An Hungarian version of the sixteenth century I have seen at the British Museum, but as my attainments in Magyar are of the same extent as De Quincey's in the Malay, I am unable to establish the history of it. I quote the title: "*Szép jeles Historia egy Apollonius nevű Kiraly Fiúrol, Miképpen ö egy Mefének*, megfejtése miatt el-bujdosván à tengeren valo hajo kazasban minden javait el-vesz tette, es halasz ruhában Altistrates Királ ynak udvarába jutott: Annak utanna sok viszontagsaginak végén, a szerencsenek jobb szarnyara fel vetetvin, Kiraly allapottyahoz illő csendesseggel megkoronaztatott. Most ujjobban ki-nyomtattatott es rendes rhythmusokkal meg-ekesitetett. Budan. Nyomtat. Katalin Landererne Betuivel."<sup>1</sup> On the reverse of the title is, "Adagio Virorum Sapientium, In via virtute nulla est via; tamen itur per aspera ad prospera; post nubila phoebus."

A copy in the Hungarian National Museum in Buda-Pesth is said, in the last stanza of the work, to have been written in 1588. The copy lacks a title-page. It is bound up with another book, and written in the volume are the words "Irita Bogáti F. Miklos nyom. Kolozsvar, 1591," that is, written by M. F. Bogati, printed at Kolozsvar, 1591. Miklos Fazekas Bogáthi was a Unitarian preacher who died 1592 (Singer gives from Simonyi an account of his life and writings). A second Miklos (Nicholas) Bogathi, sometimes confounded with the first, died in 1603. It is not certain that the work in question was written by Bogathi; only it is bound

<sup>1</sup>A beautiful and excellent history of Apollonius, a king's son; how he, after solving a riddle, wandered away; how in sailing about on the ocean he lost all his possessions, and in sailor's clothes arrived at the court of King Altistrates. At the end of his many adventures, having been taken up on a better wing of fortune, he was crowned with a silence befitting his state as a king. Now, again, reprinted and embellished with regular rhyme, in Buda. Printed with Cataline Landerer's types.

with a book which is certainly by him, entitled : "Ez világi nagy soc zür zavarrol való Ének" (a song of the great tangle of the world).

The title of the book, according to Szabo Károly, is *Szep Chronica miképpen az Apollonius nevő Királyfi egy Mesénec meg fejtese-vegett elbujdosuán, Az Tengeren mindeneket elvesztüln Halasz ruhában Altistrates Király udvarában juta, melynec Leanya a szep Lucina asszonny az Király fit meg szeretuen hozza mene. Es miképpen az Apollonius az Király ságra hasa menuen, az Tengeren Feleséget es Leányát el veszté és miképpen oket soc eszlelo mutua nagy orommel egésségben találó. Most vyionnan, az Lucretia notayára Magyar nyelvre fordítatot, és meg nyomtatitatot, Colosvárat az oh várban 1591, Esstendoben* (A pretty story concerning Prince Apollonius who having solved a riddle was forced to wander. Having lost everything at sea, he arrived in fisher's garb at the court of King Altistrates, whose daughter, the beautiful Lucina, fell in love with him and married him ; and how Apollonius returning home across the ocean lost his wife and daughter, and how, after many years, he found them again in good health. Now again, after the aria of Lucretia, translated into Hungarian, and printed in the year 1591).

There are other publications of the story in 1722, 1741, 1751; five editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without hint of place or date, but all probably printed at Buda-Pesth. The 1751 copy has for title, "Igen szep chronica Apollonius nevű Király firol, miképpen egy mesének meg-fejteseért elbujdosván az tengeren mindeneket el vesztvén. Halász ruhában Altistrátus Király Udvarában juta. . . . Nota : sok erős vitézek, bőlksek." Esler Marton, 1751 (A beautiful story of a Prince Apollonius who having solved a riddle wanders abroad ; having lost all upon the sea, he arrives, clad as a fisher, at the court of King Altistrates. . . . Song : Many strong knights, wise ones, etc. Esler Martin, 1751).

The poem consists of 202 stanzas of nine lines each, of which the third, sixth and ninth lines rhyme, and the others are without rhyme. The source of the story is the *Gesta Romanorum*.

#### ITALIAN VERSIONS.

A MS. of the middle of the fourteenth century is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin. The story occupies the entire Codex N.V. 6 (Pasini, cci. l. 1. 97). It consists of twenty-eight leaves

and is well written in Gothic characters. Thirty-five miniatures illustrate the MS. The work has been printed (at Bellinzona) in a limited edition (100 copies), edited by Carlo Salvioni (*La Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Versione Tosco-Veneziana, della metà del Sec. xiv edita da Carlo Salvioni*). The editor detects the presence in the MS. of the hand of a second scribe whose work of correction follows close upon the labor of the original amanuensis. The second writer was probably a Veronese and his changes give to the text a more Tuscan aspect.<sup>1</sup> Salvioni, with the aid of Prof. Count Carlo Cipolla, has succeeded in reproducing the original text.

The oldest Italian edition is *La Storia di Apollonio di Tiro in ottava rima*, Venez., 1486; reprinted in 1489, 1490, 1492, 1520, 1535, 1555, 1560, 1598, 1610, 1629, 1679 and 1709. The edition of 1492 is entitled "*Historia di Apolonio di Tiro riformata per Paulo de Taegia in l'anno 1492 nel mese settembre a contemplazione della magnifica Madona S. da Ferrara e poi per piacer del popolo;*" Milan, 1492 (cf. Patoni, *Bibl. degli Volgariss.*, i, 79; and Leone del Prete: *Storia di Apoll.*, etc., Lucca, 1861).

An edition said to have been made in Florence in 1580 is adorned with wood cuts. It contains six cantos and thirty-two pages. It is devout, each canto beginning with an invocation to Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies. It is entitled *Historia d'Apollonio de Tiro nuovamente Ristampata*.

It ends with

"Mi fu recato in questa lingua prima  
perche ciascum si bella storia intenda  
et io à voi ve l'ho contato in rima  
perche diletto ciasche dun ne prenda  
signor c'havete dal pie alta cima  
da me udita la bella leggenda  
io prego Dio, che à tutti sia in acoto  
Al vostro honor questo libro è finito."

## SPANISH VERSIONS.

In the library of the Escorial there is a Spanish MS. (iii, k, 4to) containing three compositions: (1) "Libro de Apolonio," (2) "Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaqua," (3) "Adoracion

<sup>1</sup> Notice *oio* for *olio* (oil), and *perdu* for *perso* (lost), *alto* for *olto* (high) and *tieni* for *tienis* (hold).

de los Reyes."<sup>1</sup> It is a quarto codex, on parchment, and has eighty leaves well and clearly written. It has generally been believed to belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and the nameless author or "arranger" is believed to have been contemporary with the author of the *Poema del Cid*<sup>2</sup> (1135-1175). The MS. was first published by its discoverer, Pedro José Pidal, in 1844. It is in Sanchez's *Colección de poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo decimo quinto*, which is a collection found in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días* (tomo quincuagesimoseximo [57] Madrid, 1864.<sup>3</sup> The "libre de Apolonio" of this publication occupies pp. 283-305, and has a preliminary note by Pidal (pp. xxxvi-xli).

It is written in stanzas of four verses, all terminating with the same rhyme. The verses contain fourteen syllables and bear evidence of Provençal origin. The metre was a novelty<sup>4</sup> and was "properly regarded by the author as his chief distinction," and he implores the divine aid in his new experiment while he essays his six hundred stanzas:

"Componer un romance de nueva maestria,  
Del buen rey Apolonio e de sa cortesia,  
El rey Apolonio de Tiro natural,  
Que porlas aventuras visto grant temporal,  
Como perdio la fija e la mujer capdal  
Como las cobro amas, ca les fué muy leyal."

"I will write a romance (story) in the new mastery. (*method*)."  
*Nueva maestria* no doubt refers to the form of the stanza and to its rhyme. George Ticknor says "The merit of the poem is small. It contains occasional notices of the manners of the age when it was produced—among the rest, some sketches of a female *jongleur*, of the class soon afterwards severely denounced in the laws of Alfonso the Wise, that are curious and interesting. Its chief attraction, however, is its story, and this, unhappily, is no original" (*History of Spanish Literature*, 1st ed., 1849, Vol. i, p. 25). The

<sup>1</sup> Or, *Libre dels Tres Reyes d'orient*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Fitzmaurice-Kelly, the most recent historian of Spanish literature, the narrator of the Apollonius story was "probably a native of Aragon" (*Spanish Literature*, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> This is the admirable collection of Spanish classics in 79 vols. by Manuel Rivadeneyra.

<sup>4</sup> F. Wolf, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, Jahrgang 1850, zweiter Band, No. 232.

female *jongleur* or *juglaresa* mentioned in the *Apolonio* is the primitive strolling actress. Alfonso in *Las siete Partidas* denounces the class as infamous.

The Spanish text obviously rests upon the French or Provençal, and in turn inspired a production of the *aljamia* or Spanish-Arabic literature. The *Maid of Arcayona* belongs to the *textos aljamidos* and is an outgrowth of the *Apolonio*.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish *Apolonio* has a perfervid Christian tone. Christian piety and honor have been breathed into the ancient pagan story. It is the voice of an angel that summons Apollonius to Ephesus, where his wife is the *abbess of a convent*!

A later Spanish version is found in the *Patrónuelo* of Juan de Timoneda (1576). Timoneda was a book-seller of Valencia, who printed the *pasos* (dramatic interludes) of Lope de Rueda (cf. *Deleitoso Compendio*, 1567, and *Registro de Representantes*, 1570). He was an early writer of Spanish tales, or rather an arranger (for he had little originality) of previously existing plays and narratives. The very popular picaresque novel, *Lasallillo de Tormes*, had excited a desire for stories of wit, intrigue and adventure, which Timoneda attempted to satisfy with a collection of twenty-two traditional tales (*Patrónuelo*, or story-teller). His version of the *Apollonius* he derived from the *Gesta Romanorum* (cf. Brunet, *La France littéraire au XVe siècle*, p. 12). It only remains to note that the character of Tarsiana in the early Spanish text appears to be the type of Preciosa, the heroine of Cervantes' *Gitanilla*, and of Weber's opera.<sup>2</sup>

## PROVENÇAL AND FRENCH VERSIONS.

Wilhelm Cloetta, *Abschaffung und Ueberlieferung des Poème Moral*, Erlangen, 1884, may be consulted for the bibliography of the *Apollonius* saga among the troubadours. Numerous references also occur in Raynouard, *Poesias d. Troubadours*, ii, 301. The allusions to the story in the songs of the troubadours, and the frequent Provençal words and phrases in the Spanish MS. point to a very early appearance of the story in France (cf. Fauriel, *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, iii (1846), 486, 487).

<sup>1</sup> Castilian written in the Arabic alphabet was called *aljamia* (i.e., foreign), the original name of the imperfect Latin spoken by the Moors. The *Poème de Yassuf* belongs to the literature thus begotten.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Spanish Literature*, p. 54.

Arnaud de Marsan a poet of Provence, about 1642, sings :

“ d'Apollonius de Tyr  
Sapchatz contar e dire  
Com el fos perilhat,” etc.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the Provençal romance of *Flamenga* contains, among other anonymous histories, *l'autre cantava d'Appolloine com si retene Tyr de Sidoine*. It is a narrative poem in octosyllabic couplets, edited from the unique MS. at Carcassonne by Paul Meyer and translated into modern French (Paris, 1865) (see Francis Hueffer, *The Troubadours*, 1878, p. 15).

The story appears to have existed in the poetry of the troubadours in the south of France, if we suppose Alphonse le Savant to refer to the French *Appolonius*.

“ Y sin gobierno ni jarcia  
Me porné por alta mar  
Que asi ficiera Apolonio  
Y yo faré otro que tal.”

And in the north of France it passed, as we have already seen, into the vast orbit of the Carlovingian cycle.

The old French prose version is contained in a little volume printed at Geneva in 1482 (?). It is entitled “*Apollin roy de Thire. Cy commence la cronicque et hystoire de Appollin roy de thir et premierement danthiogus et de sa fille comment par luxure il violla sa fille et comment il mourut meschamment par la fouldre qui loccit.*” Of this rare *incunabulum*, only two copies, so far as I know, are known to exist; one was purchased at the sale of Louis Philippe's library in 1852, for about 1800 francs; the other is at Sitten, in the library of the family of Lavallaz.

A little later was published “*Plaisant et agréable histoire a' Apollonius prince de Thyr en Affrique et Roi d'Antioch traduite par Gilles Corrozet, en ses jeune ans*” (Paris, 1530).

The story is found in Boistieu and Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques*, Rouen, 1604, 7th vol., p. 113; and in the eighteenth century it is entitled *Les Aventures d'Appolonius de Thyr, par A. B. (Ant. le Brun)*, Paris, 1710; Rotterdam, 1718 (?); Paris, 1797 (cf. *Nouvelle Bibl. d. Rom.* Tom. i, p. 1).

It appears in classic French literature in Corneille's *Theodore, Vierge et Martyre*, the scene of which is laid in Antioch in the reign of Diocletian.

Duplessis' catalogue cites a MS. in the library at Chartres (No. 419), "Lystoire de Apollonius qui apres les pestilences et fortunes quil ot en merset ailleurs, fust roy de Antioche" (Duplessis, *Catalog. de la bibl. de Chartres*, Chartres, 1840).

I feel bound to mention the French translation (*Apollonius de Tyr*), by J. d'Avenel, Paris, Mortain, 1857. The translator says (p. 3, footnote), "Notre traduction d'Apollonius est, sauf erreur, la première qui ait paru dans notre langue; nous reclamons donc pour elle l'indulgence du lecteur." It is milk for babes, all the strong passages of the original carefully expunged.

A manuscript of the French prose romance is in the British Museum (Royal 20, C. ii). It is of the fifteenth century, on vellum; the preceding part of the MS. contains the prose romance of Cleriadus and Meliadice. The general heading reads: "Cy commence la cronique et histoire des merveilleuses aventures de Appolin Roy de Thir." It concludes: "Touttesfois tant comme il vesquit il fust Roy dantioce et de thir et de la terre des penthalpolis et de citriane et de tarcye et en sou tempz les tint en bonne paix. Puis fist escrire ses adventures et le mist en vi lieux dont lun fist mettre en la terre des effes [Ephesians] Et laultre au temple de dyane Et laultre en anthioce Et laultre en cytrianne [cyrene] Et laultre en tarcye Et laultre a thir Ainsi est finee listore et cronique de appolin de Thir."<sup>1</sup>

A French translation of the fifteenth century, *Le Violier des histoires Romaines*, is republished in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, under the title "Le Violier des histoires Romaines, Ancienne traduction française des *Gesta Romanorum*, Nouvelle édition, revue et annotée, Par M. G. Brunet, Paris, 1858 (chapter 125). It resembles the *Gesta Romanorum*, but occasionally points to another source. Singer cites (p. 108) several passages in which the text agrees rather with the *Historia* and with Steinhöwel than with the *Gesta*.

## MODERN GREEK VERSIONS.

As the Greek original of the saga is lost, peculiar interest attaches to the medieval Greek versions. The hero, after having traveled so far from the East, returns in the circle of romance and appears twice in a Greek garb. "Damals kehrte die Erzählung vom Abendlande

<sup>1</sup>Another MS. which Singer has collated is in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 3428).

nach dem griechischen Osten zurück, wo längst jede Spur des alten Originalwerks verloren gegangen war" (Krumbacher, "Byzantinischen Litteraturgeschichte," in I. Müller's *Handbuch der Clas. Altertums-Wissenschaft*, ix, pt. i, p. 434.) Both the Greek versions are metrical. The older one is apparently of the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. It has 857 unrhymed verses. It is in a Paris MS. (Codex Paris. grec 390), described in the catalogue: "Narratio de Apollonio Tyrio e latina lingua in græcam conversa; hic codex decimo quinto saeculo exaratus videtur." It begins on fol. 149<sup>b</sup> and finishes 173<sup>b</sup> (see Chauvin, *les Roman. Grec.*, pp. 175–182). It is entitled *Μεταγλωττισμα ἀπὸ Λατινικὸν εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὸν, Διηγησις πολυπαθοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τύρου*. It is compared with the Latin version in a study by M. Gidel ("Étude sur Apollonius de Tyr," in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1871, No. 34, p. 851). Much Christian comment is introduced into the pagan story. The most complete studies of the Greek versions have been made by Wilhelm Wagner, in two separate publications. His first book is "*Medieval Greek Texts. Being a Collection of the Earliest Compositions in Vulgar Greek, Prior to the Year 1500. Edited, with Prolegomena and Critical Notes, by Wilhelm Wagner. Part i. London. Published for the Philological Society, by Asher & Co., 1870.*" His second book is "*Carmina Graeca medii ævi. Edidit Gulielmus Wagner, Lipsiae, 1874.*" See also *Étude sur Apol. d. Tyr. Roman écrit en Grec et en vers politiques d'après une version Latine*, M. C. Gidel.

Wagner believes the MS. of the earliest Greek text to belong to the early fifteenth century, but Omant (the keeper of the MSS. in the Paris Library) contends that it is not older than the sixteenth. For the sources from which the MS. is derived, see L. Traube, *Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v, 10 (1884), p. 382.

The second Greek version belongs to the end of the fifteenth century. It is a much fuller narrative than the first text and contains 1894 rhymed verses (1838 in the Venice edition of 1778). It appears in some editions (for it was a popular work and often reprinted) to have been made by Gabriel Kontianos; in others by "Konstantin Temenos"<sup>1</sup> (cf. Legrand, *Bibliogr. hell.* i (1885), 290). It is entitled *Διήγησις ὥραιοτάτη ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐν τύρῳ. Ριμόδα*, in Venezia, per Messer Stefano da Sabio ad instantia di M. D'Amian

<sup>1</sup> See p. 246.

di Santa Maria, 1534. Brunet mentions other editions from the Venetian press in 1553 (Christ. di Zanetti), 1603, 1642 and 1696 (see Haupt, *Opuscula*, iii, 27, and B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 7, and Th. Grässle, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte*, ii (1842), 457-460, and K. Gödecke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, I (1884), 367).

I have studied an edition of 1778 (*A. τοῦ δι τύρων, Πηγαδά, 'Επελ-*  
*γῶνι, 1778*) and have come to very different conclusions from those arrived at by previous scholars. Wagner says, "The language is very difficult and seems to be the bad jargon of the islands" (*M.G.T.*, p. xviii). It is evident that Wagner knew very little of the Greek dialects, and this bit of superficial criticism is characteristic of the carelessness and ignorance which prevail in both his books, and yet critics and bibliographers seem blindly to have followed Wagner's lead without undertaking to examine for themselves the language of the text. The work (translation or transcription) was done in Crete, a fact which was unknown to most of the scholars who described the poem, although the place and time are explicitly stated in the body of the text. The language is difficult for any one unfamiliar with the dialect. It is not "bad jargon;" on the contrary, the poem is well written, in the Cretan dialect, and it should be remembered that at the time the work was done (1500), Crete was more literary and more classical than Greece itself. Greece had passed under the Turkish yoke: Crete was still Venetian. Much difference of opinion has been expressed as to the source of the Cretan version. Prof. Konrad Holmann thinks it was derived from the Italian ("Von zwei griechischen Bearbeitungen die wir haben, ist die eine des 13. Jahrhunderts aus einem lateinischen, die andere des 16. aus einem italienischen Texte geflossen," *Sitzungsberichte der ph.-ph. u. hist. Cl. d. kön.-bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaft zu München*, 1871, Hs. 4, S. 416). The consensus of opinion, however, favors translation from a Latin text. But Edouard Dumiénil asserted its derivation from the German of Johana (sic) von Neuenstadt!—"la redaction en grec moderne a été faite d'après la version Allemande" (*Flaubert et Blanche*, Paris, Jasset, 1856, p. cr). What Dumiénil's exquisite reason was, I do not know, but there is less resemblance, if anything, between Gabriel Kontianos and Heinrich v. Neustadt than between Gabriel and Shakespeare.

The name of the author or transcriber has also set the editors guessing. M. Sathos says that the translation of the poem into Greek was made by Constantinos Temenos, a Cretan (*Κωνσταντίνος Τέμενος* χρήσης ἐπιτιχούργησεν ἡ μᾶλλον μετέφρασεν ἐν τῷει 1500 τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τύρῳ Ἀπολλώνιον, etc.; cf. *Νεό Ελληνική Φιλολογία*, p. 230). Wagner puzzles over Sathos for awhile and decides that he does not know the reasons for the statement. The reason is to be found in Sathos' ignorance. He has mistaken the Cretan word *θεμένο* (*composed*) for a proper name!<sup>1</sup>

But it is time to consider the text itself. It begins :

'Απολλώνιον τὸν ἐν Τύρῳ. 'Ρημάδα, δῖον, ἐνετίστιν, 1778, Παρὰ Δημητρίῳ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ εἰς Ἰωαννίνων. Con Licenza de superiori. Inc. p. 3 : Μὲ δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δප' ὅλοι προσκυνοῦμε, Γιάνδ μοῦ δάσῃ δύναμιν, λόγον, καλὸν νὰ ποῦμε,—Κιλὰν ἔσφαλα καὶ τίκοτες Δς ἐν συμπαθημένο, Γιατὶ ἔκαμα τὸ κάτεχα, καὶ τόχα μαθημένο, p. 71. The first two pages form an introduction on the part of the author. He invokes the help of Jesus Christ, attributes every event to Providence, justifies his attempt to have put into verse the story *he had read somewhere* and excuses himself for any mistakes committed on his part. The story begins on the first line of the third page and goes on to p. 69. The last eight verses of pp. 70, 71 state the Christian name of the author to be Constantine; his family name is omitted. It is distinctly stated that the poem was concluded at Canea in Crete on the first of January, 1500, the fete day of St. Basilios. This statement, which has been consistently overlooked by the historians, is in the following lines :

'Επειείωσα τὸ ἄρχηνισα μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάρη,  
τὸν μῆναν τὸν γενέρη.  
'Σ τὴν πρώτην Βασίλειόν τε Ἀγίον τοῦ Προσβύτου,  
εἰς τὰ Χανιά βρισκόμενος εἰς τὸ ησοῦ τὴν Κρήτη.  
Ποίημα εἰν' ἀπὸ χειρὸς Κωνστάντινου (sic, Κωνστάντιου;) θεμένο,  
γιὰν νὰ με μακαρίζουσιν ἀπῆτης ἀποθανό.  
Κιλὰν ἔσφαλα καὶ τίκοτες Δς ἐν συμπαθημένο,  
γιατὶ ἔκαμα τὸ κάτεχα καὶ τόχα μαθημένο.

Finally in regard to the name of the author, Wagner entertains in his second book (*Carmina*) "grave suspicions" that Gabriel Contiani is not the name of the poet, but only of the copyist, in which for once he is right. Some commentators have supposed

<sup>1</sup> Numerous scholars, even the latest, S. Singer, have repeated the error.

Kontiani to be derived from *Κόμης* (Conte), an Italian title introduced by the Venetians who then held Crete, and have believed that the writer therefore belonged to the Western Catholic Church. But this supposition is confuted by Koraes, in his *Acta*, Vol. ii, prolegomena, p. 13, where he shows that "Gabriel" clearly points to the Oriental Church.

## RUSSIAN VERSIONS.

In Russian literature the story of Apollonius is derived from the Russian translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*, which in turn rests upon the Polish rendering of the *Gesta*. G. Polivka, of all the Russian scholars, has studied the subject most closely. In the *Listy filologicke*, 1889, 353–358 and 416–435, he demonstrated the relations of the Russian and Polish versions of the *Gesta*, and discussed the curious Bohemian version of the *Apollonius*. In the *Drobné príspevky literárne historické* (brief literary notes), Prague, 1891, he compared the *Gesta Romanorum* and the Tichonravov texts, but came to no positive conclusions. Dr. Murko, of Vienna, was of the opinion that the Tichonravov text was only a careful treatment by a Moscow scholar of the White Russian *Rimskija Dejanija*. In 1892 he contributed to the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* (14: 405), a careful paper entitled, "Die russische Uebersetzung des *Apollonius von Tyrus* und der *Gesta Romanorum*." For the Tichonravov text, see *Letopisi russkoj literatury* (chronology of Russian literature), 1859, and *Russkij folol Vestnik* (1891, Part ii, p. 314); for the *Rimskija Dejanija*, see *Obcestvo ljubitelej drevnej pismennosti* (St. Petersburg, No. 117). A selection of stories from the *Rimskija Dejanija* was made and published at Cracow by Siekielowicz in 1663, and this collection was translated from Polish into Russian "in the summer of 7199" (that is, of the Byzantine era = 1691 A.D.).

The Bohemian folk-book, to a description of which we shall arrive later, is entitled *Kronyka o Apollonwi Krali Tyrskem*, W. Gindrichowe Hradcy, 1733. It was reprinted, Olomanci, 1769, and Praze, 1761. See Dobrowsky, *Geschichte d. Böh. Sprache*, p. 303. It is also printed direct from the MSS. by A. J. Vrt'atko, *Casopis Musea Ceskeho*, 1863.

## THE STORY IN ENGLISH.

We have now spoken of the story as it appears in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Italy, Spain, France, Hungary, Greece,

Russia and Bohemia. It remains for us to consider its course in English literature. Most curious is the form it takes in Anglo-Saxon, where it exists as the only romance in that literature. The historian must take notice of eight versions of the story in English literature.

1. The Anglo-Saxon romance (a MS. in C. C. C., Cambridge).
2. An early English metrical translation (Wimborne, Dorset).
3. Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, 1483.
4. Copland's translation from the French. Pr. by Wynkyn de Worde, 1510.
5. Twine's *Patterne of Paineful Adventures*, 1576.
6. Shakespeare's *Pericles*, 1609.
7. Geo. Wilkins' *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, a novel, 1608.
8. Lillo's *Marina*.

The old English or Anglo-Saxon version is believed by Wülker to belong to the second third of the eleventh century. Ebert prefers to date it from the beginning of the century. It exists in a unique MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Thus before the Norman conquest brought the chivalry and romance of southern Europe into England, some unknown but not unskillful hand, as if presaging the time when the new ideas of courtliness and chivalry should embody themselves in the romantic forms of the Elizabethan age, had translated this universal favorite.

The MS. was first studied by Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A., who published it with a literal translation in 1834. It is referred to by Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 504; H. Leo, *Altsächsische und Angelsächsische Sprachproben*, 32-34; B. Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, 108 (1846); Müller *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 56-62, and by Zupitza, *Anglia*, Bd. i, 463-467. The MS. has now been thoroughly edited by Zupitza.<sup>1</sup>

It is but a fragment. Thorpe fills the lacunæ in his translation with quotations from Swan's rendering of the narrative in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Prof. A. S. Cook, in his *First Book in Old English* (Ginn & Co., 1894), has also reëdited bits of the old text.

<sup>1</sup> Zupitza discusses carefully and learnedly the question "Welcher Text liegt der Altenglischen Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus zu Grunde?" in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. iii, pp. 269-279. The article should be read for the interesting parallelism between the A.-S. and the Latin MSS. f Riese's third class. Zupitza's edition of the A.-S. is in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, 1896, Vol. xcvi, pp. 17-34; intro. note by A. Napier.

In 1850 J. O. Halliwell (Halliwell-Phillipps) printed for private circulation: *A new boke about Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon*. He introduced into it a "curious and interesting fragment of a very early English metrical translation of the story of Apollonius, King of Tyre." It is copied from a MS. on vellum which had formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer. The MS. had but two leaves and had been converted into the cover of a book, the edges were cut off, and some words were altogether lost in consequence. Steevens had quoted a few lines from it (cf. Malone's *Shakespeare*, ed. 1821, Vol. xxi, p. 221). "The author," says Halliwell, "appears to have resided at Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire," and the MS. would appear from the language to be anterior to the appearance of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

The fragment is of considerable philological importance, and as it was printed in a limited edition of seventy-five copies, of which I believe fifty were destroyed,<sup>1</sup> I have ventured to reprint it here as a singular and interesting fragment of early English literature.<sup>2</sup>

• • • • •  
 Sche was fairest of alle,  
 The Kyng . . .  
 And on hys knees byfore hire falle  
 • • • • •  
 He offryde and alle that wit him were  
 And afterw . . .  
 dreyre chere;  
 Of Tire I Ar . . .  
 . . . myself there king,

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps was provokingly fond of printing his pamphlets and brochures in very limited editions. A wag said of him that he only printed two copies of his books—one he burned and the other he put in his private library.

<sup>2</sup> I have normalized the orthography of the MS. only in one particular, substituting for the so-called Anglo-Saxon g symbol (which had in ME. the value of a spirant) its later ME. representatives gh, and y according to the phonetic value of the symbol in each instance; following in this the orthographic usage of the later ME. MSS., which put gh for the guttural or back spirant, y for the palatal, and g for the stop. In Ags. up to the twelfth century only one character was used for the various sounds of g, viz., the Anglo-Saxon g. In ME. the so-called Frankish g (our modern g sign) was introduced to denote the stopped sound as in *go*, and the French sound of g in *rouge*; the Anglo-Saxon letter was retained for awhile to denote the spirant sounds of g, but in Chaucer's time it had been dropped and gh or y substituted.

Appolyn the . . . .  
 . . . . wit mine ofryng;  
 As sone as . . . .  
 . . . . upon my letterure,  
 The . . . . ing . . . . hedde  
 . . . . was ful suyre;  
 I scholde him . . . .  
 . . . . thulke cure,  
 Therfore he did . . . .  
 . . . . he gaf gret huyre;  
 To Tarse y. fledde that deth to . . . .  
 For hunger the cité was al nought,  
 An hundred milianys they hadde of me  
 Buschelles of whete, as y am by- thought.  
 Tho made they an ymage of bras,  
 A scheef of whete he helde an honde,  
 That to my licknes maad was;  
 Uppon a buschel they dyde hym stonde;  
 And wryte about the storye.  
 To Appolyn this hys y-do,  
 To have hym ever in memorie,  
 For he delyverede us fro woo.  
 Tho wente y unto Cirenен;  
 The kings daughter he me yaf,  
 I ledde here fro here kyn;  
 Ayeyn we broughte hire nought saf,  
     For sche deyde amydde the see;  
 And ther sche bare this maide child.  
 That here stant byfore the:  
     Goude goddesse, be to hire myld!  
 Tho tok y the daughter in Tarse to kepe,  
 To Strangulion and Dame Denyse,  
 Y couthe no . . . . reed but ever wepe,  
 Sorwe me tók in ech wyse.  
 I held me in the see ten and four yeer  
 Wit sorwe, care and wo;  
 I cam aye and fond hire nought ther,  
 Tho nyst y what was best to do.  
 But, grete goddesse, y thanke the  
 That evere sche deth so asterte.  
 That ever y myyhte that day y seo,  
 To have this confort at my herte!  
 The whiles he expounede thus his lyf  
 Wit sorwe and stedfast thought,  
 He tolde hit to hys awene wyf;  
 Sche knew him wel, and he hire nought.

Heo caught him to hire armes two,  
 For joy sche ne myghte spek a word ;  
 The kyng was wroth, and putte her fro,  
 Heo cryede loude, ye beth my lord !  
 I am youre wif, youre leof y-core,  
 Archistrate ye lovede so !  
 The kynges daughter y was bore,  
 Archistrates he ne hadde na mo.  
 Heo clipte hym, and efter gan to kysse,  
 And tolde that was byfalle ;  
 Sche clipt and keuste with wouten lysse  
 And saide thus byfore hem alle,—  
 Ye seeth Appolyn, the kyng,  
 My maister thot taughte me al my goud.

. . . . . me out of my grace  
 Archistra . . . .  
 . . . . wham the other forsok,  
 And to my lord you ches ;  
 My lord that leide me on cheste,  
 Or y were cast into the see,  
 My lord that ofte me keust,  
 And never wende me more y-see,  
 My lord that y have founde,  
 Y thanke God in Trinatyé ! ”  
 Ure daughter on thys grounde,  
 Ye, dame, par fay, thys hys sche !  
 . . . . te he hire, me scholde nougnt knowe.  
 Ho was gladdest of the threo ;  
 . . . . They wepte alle arowe,  
 That ech of other hadde pité ;  
 Ephese hit was couth,  
 The goddesse had hire lord knowe,  
 . . . . An may no man telle wit mouth  
 The grete mirthe thot was mad, y trowe ;  
 . . . . An song and made gleo  
 In gret confort of here goddesse,  
 . . . . thes y- streghyt over al thoe cité,  
 An keverede for gret gladnesse :  
 They made a feste of gret plenté,  
 And sedde the citesaynes alle at ones,  
 They made of him gret denté.  
 The fest was gret for the nones,  
 They made hym prest of the lawe,  
 Here norry that sche loved mest,  
 . . . . the maner by har dawe,  
 Wymmen dide thoe offys of prest.

. . . . the joye of thoe londe,  
 Sche dighte hire wit here lord to fare,  
 . . . . e cité broughte hem at stronde,  
 For deel of blisse wexeth al bare.  
 . . . . nte hy to Antioche,  
 Yutt was him kept thoe kyndom,  
 . . . . Yt fro thennys hys passage  
 To his lond Tire he nom ;  
 Made Anategora kyng,  
 Hys daughter quene thoe was his heir,  
 . . . . ne hit was at her likyng,  
 To schip hy wente alle y-fere.  
 To Tarse they wente wit gret navye,  
 Wederynge fel at wille,  
 And all the citesaynes goune crye,  
 Welcome lord, us tille :  
 . . . . Yté anon Strangulion take,  
 And hys wyf, Denyse, also,  
 . . . . ed hem alle for here sake  
 Wit hym to have mothalle goo,  
 . . . . bet yif he hath trespassed ought,  
 Other eny offense ageyn hem do,  
 . . . . yde alle nay lord ryght nougħt,  
 Ye beth oure lord forever mo.  
 . . . . ge have to lorde y-core,  
 For evere love you ne mote  
 . . . . hadde ye be ne hadde before,  
 Of alle bales ye were bote ;  
 An image of brass witnesse hys,  
 Thot we schulle yow nevere disceyve,  
 . . . . ollet deye for you y-wys  
 Rather than eny man schal you greve ;  
 . . . . Angulion, my daughter y tok,  
 And Denyse that hys hys wyf.  
 . . . .  
 That the citesaynes wit gret deal  
 Hadde write hit to fore youre eyye :  
 Appolyn gan to calle,  
 Tarse, daughter, wherevere you beo,  
 Schewe the forth bysofre us alle,  
 Fro deth to lyf arys aye !  
 Sche pytte hire forthe in riche atir,  
 As fel to a quene,  
 To fulfile her fader desir ;  
 " Denyse," sche seyth, " hail ye !  
 I grete the out of my grave

Fro deth to lyve areved!  
 Wher hys Tiophele? hym moste y have."  
 He stoud sire aseryd.  
 " Madame, y am her at youre wille!"  
 He stod as he schulde sterfe:  
 " Sche tok me the to spille,  
 Deonyse whom I serve."  
 The citesaynes Strangulion toke,  
 And hys wif for hire trecherye,  
 Out of the cité drowe wit hoke  
 Into a place ther-inne to dye:  
 They stened him wit stone,  
 And so hy wolde Teophele also;  
 Tarse bygan him defende sone.  
 To dethe he ne was nougħt do.  
 And saide, ye yaf me grace  
 To pray God Almyght,  
 I schal him yeve lyves space.  
 Ellys ye ne hadde ne never seye in sight;  
 Appolyn dwellede ther fourty dayes,  
 And gaf grete giftes to alle men;  
 And thennes sailede to Cirenē:  
 Yut was hys fiader-in-lawe alyve,  
 Archistrates the goud kyng,  
 folk come ayeynes him so blyve.  
 As eny myghte by other thryng;  
 They songe, daunsede, and were blythe,  
 That were hy myhte that day y-sco,  
 And thankede God a thousand sythe;  
 The king was gladdest, suyr be ye:  
 Tho he saw hem alle byfore,  
 His daughter and hys sone in lawe,  
 And hys daughter so fair y-core,  
 A kinges wif, he was wel fawe:  
 And her child ther also,  
 Al clene of kings blod;  
 He kuste them, he was glad tho;  
 But the olde king so goud  
 He made hem dwelle al thoe yer,  
 And deyde in hys daughter arm.—  
 Wit gret gladnesse he deyde ther,  
 If God nolde hit was harm.  
 Tho nolde Appolyn nevere fyne  
 Ar he hadde the fischedre sought,  
 That yof him half hys slaveyne,  
 Tho he was firste to londe y- brought;

Knygthes him fette of gret honour,  
 He was aferde to be slawe,  
 He gaf him londes and gret tresour,  
 And made him erl by al hys sawe:  
 Olde man, ne dred the nought,  
 For I am Apollyn of Tire,  
 That ones help of the bysought,  
 Tho I lay byfore the in the myre;  
 Thou gave me half thy sclaveyne,  
 And bed me y schulde thenke on the;

Broughte hym dyeinge.  
 Antiochus his deth hadde swore,  
 He was marchaunt of many thynge;  
 . . . . the kyng to grete,  
 He tok him up and gan him to kusse;  
 . . . . de he wolde him nevere lete,  
 He scholde be on of hem to wysse;  
 . . . . im bothe lovde and lede.  
 And made him erl a lite ther byside;  
 . . . . ful of wilde brede,  
 Casteles and tourys that were wyde,  
 He made him chef of hys consail,  
 For he fonde him ferst so . . . . t fewe:  
 . . . . as evere wit-oute fail,  
 He ne leet for no newe;  
 . . . . the kyng goud lyf and clene  
 Wit hys wyf in gret solas,  
 . . . . and fourtene  
 He lyvede after thys do was;  
 . . . . twey sones by junge age,  
 That wax wel sarynge men;  
 . . . . the kyndom of Antioche,  
 Of Tire and of Cirenен.  
 Were nevere verre on hys lond,  
 Ne hunger ne no mesayse,  
 . . . . hit yede wel an hond,  
 He lyvede wel at ayse:  
 . . . . tweye bokys of hys lyf  
 That onto his awene bible he sette.  
 . . . . at byddinge of hys wyf . . . .  
 He leste at Ephese so he hire fette;  
 . . . . hys lond in goud manere  
 Tho he drow to age,  
 . . . . ora he made King of Tire,  
 That was his owene heritage;

The eldest sonne of that empire  
 He made king of Antiage,  
 . . . . that he lovede dure,  
 Of Cirenен that was . . . .  
 When he hadde al thys y-dyght  
 Cam deth and axede hys fee,  
 . . . . hys soule to God Almyght,  
 So wel God that hit bee;  
 . . . . de ech housbonde grace.  
 For to lovye so hys wyf  
 . . . . y-fed hem witoute trespace,  
 As sche dyde hym al here lyf;  
 . . . . ne on alle lyves space,  
 Heere to amende oure mysdede.  
 . . . . of hevene to have a place,  
 Amen ye syng here, y rede.  
 . . . . ony thys was translatyd  
*Almost at Engelondes ende.*  
 . . . . to the makers stat,  
 Tak eich an . . . . kynde;  
 . . . . hove y-take hys bedys on hond,  
 And sayd hys Pater Noster and Crede,  
 . . . . was vicary, y understande,  
*At Wymborne mynstre in that stede;*  
 . . . . y thought you have wryte,  
 Hit is noughe worth to be knowe,  
 . . . . thot wole the sothe y-wyte  
 Go Thider and me wol ye schewe;  
 . . . . Fader, and Sone, and Holy Gost,  
 To whom y clepide at my begynnyng,  
 . . . . de he hys of myghtes most,  
 Brynge us alle to a goud endyng:  
 Grannte us voide the Payne of helle,  
 O God, Lorde, and persones threo,  
 And in the blysse of hevene dwelle!  
 Amen, pour charité!

3. We next find Gower telling the story, to the pious disgust of Chaucer, in the *Confessio Amantis*, which was finished not later than 1393, and most probably a year or two earlier, and which was first printed by Caxton in 1483. Gower confesses the source of his tale in his opening lines:

“ Of a cronique in daies gon,  
 The whiche is cleped Panteon  
 In loves cause I rede thus  
 How that the great Antiochus,” etc.

Pudmenzky<sup>1</sup> thinks that Gower must also have used some other MSS., and his notion is perhaps borne out by Gower's own words when after a long digression he returns to his subject with :

“But now to my matere agen  
To telle as olde bokes seyn.”<sup>2</sup>

4. *Kynge Apollyn of Thyre* is a prose romance published in 1510 by Wynkyn de Worde, and translated from the French by Robert Copland. Its French parentage is the MS. in the British Museum (Royal 20, C. ii). It exists in but one MS., in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth, and has been reproduced in *facsimile* by Edmund William Ashbee, in 1870, only twenty-one copies printed.

5. We come now to the last version that preceded Shakespeare, and to which the latter is in part indebted. In 1576 appeared the novel, “gathered into English,” entitled “*The Patterne of Painefull Adventures*: Containing the most excellent, pleasant and variable Historie of the strange accidents that befell unto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina, his wife, and Tharsia, his daughter. Wherein the uncertaintie of this world, and the fickle state of man’s life are lively described. Gathered into English by Laurence Twine, Gentleman. Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman.” There are two *Twines* in English literature, and we must be careful not to entangle them. Malone, Steevens and Douce attributed the translation to Thomas Twine, “the continuator of Phaer’s Virgil.” Laurence and Thomas Twine were brothers. The former and elder, the one of whom we have to speak, is defined for us by Anthony à Wood as “a fellow of All Souls’ College, Bachelor of Civil Law, and an ingenious poet of his time.” Of Master Laurence Twine’s “ingenious poetry” we have no examples save the songs and riddles of Tharsia. It is noteworthy that a new edition of *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* appeared in 1607, one year before *Pericles*, by William Shakespeare, was entered in Stationer’s Hall. It is reprinted in *Shakespeare’s Library*, Vol. iv, pp. 253–334.

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare’s Pericles und der Apol. d. Heinrich von Neustadt*, Detmold, 1884, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Gower’s version of the Apollonius is to be found in *Shakespeare’s Library*, Vol. iv, pp. 181–228, printed from two MSS. in the British Museum (Harr. 3940 and 3869).

The line of succession does not cease with Shakespeare. We have still to name *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, a novel by George Wilkins, printed in 1608, and having curious relations to the Shakespearean play. It was reprinted by Tycho Mommsen, under the title, "*Pericles, Prince of Tyre. A Novel by George Wilkins*, printed in 1608, and founded upon Shakespeare's Play. Edited by Professor Tycho Mommsen. With a Preface by J. Payne Collier, Esq. Oldenburg, 1857." Shakespeare's plays were often founded upon novels, notably upon those of *Cinthio* and *Bandello*; this is the first instance of a novel being founded upon a Shakespearian play. Collier told Mommsen that there was only one copy of Wilkins' novel in England. He cited the title-page as follows: "*The Painful Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Being the true history of the play of Pericles as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet, John Gower, at London. Printed by T. P. [avier?] for Nat. Butter,<sup>1</sup> 1608.*" It is in quarto and consists of forty leaves. In the centre of the title-page is a wood-cut of John Gower, attired in a theatre cloak, with a staff in one hand and a bunch of bays in the other; before him, upon a desk, lies a copy of *Confessio Amantis*. In "The Argument of the whole Historie," with which the book begins, the reader is entreated "to receive this Historie in the same maner as it was under the habite of ancient *Gower*, the famous English Poet, by the King's Maiesties Players excellently presented."

Another copy was found in Zurich, which had belonged to the Swiss poet, Martin Usteri (1741–1827), a minor writer who had composed some lines in the style of Herrick:

"Freut euch des Lebens  
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht,  
Pflücket die Rosen  
Eh sie verblüht."

It was this copy that Prof. Mommsen reprinted. The contents of the novel we will consider when we discuss the *stability* of the saga.

Other late reappearances of the story are in Davenport, who uses the brothel scene, and in the Dutch play, *Alexander and Lodwick*, Amsterdam, 1618, supposed to be an adaptation of a

<sup>1</sup> It was for Nathaniel Butter that the first and second quartos of *King Lear* (1608) were printed.

# THE Painfull Aduentures of Pericles Prince of Tyre.

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Being  
The true History of the Play of *Pericles*, as it was  
lately presented by the worthy and an-  
cient Poet John Gower.



AT LONDON  
Printed by T.P. for Nat: Butter,  
1608.

lost play by Martin Slaughter, that was performed for Henslowe in 1597-8. We have also hints of it in Randolph's *Oratio Prevaricatoria*, 1632, and *Hey for Honesty* (1636?). It is curious in the last-named work to notice that Randolph slaps Shakespeare for his "greed," to use a harsh word that became agreeable to the tongue of R. G. White after he had lost his early enthusiasm for Shakespeare, and when he was editing the Riverside edition.

George Lillo has a play entitled *Marina*, dedicated "to the Right Honourable the Countess of Hertford." The "Prologue" distinguishes between Shakespeare's part in *Pericles* and that of an inferior hand, and thus "strove to wake, by Shakespeare's nervous lays, the manly genius of Eliza's days."

#### *Prologue.*

Hard is the task, in this discerning age,  
To find new subjects that will bear the stage ;  
And bold our bards, their low harsh strains to bring  
Where Avon's swan has long been heard to sing ;  
Blest parent of our scene ! whose matchless wit,  
Tho' yearly reap'd, is our best harvest yet.  
Well may that genius every heart command,  
Who drew all nature with her own strong hand ;  
As various, as harmonious, fair and great,  
With the same vigour and immortal heat,  
As thro' each element and form she shines :  
We view heav'n's hand-maid in her Shakespeare's lines.  
Though some mean scenes, injurious to his fame,  
Have long usurp'd the honour of his name ;  
To glean and clear from chaff his least remains,  
Is just to him, and richly worth our pains.  
We dare not charge the whole unequal play  
Of *Pericles* on him ; yet let us say,  
As gold though mix'd with baser matter shines,  
So do his bright inimitable lines  
Throughout those rude wild scenes distinguish'd stand,  
And shew he touch'd them with no sparing hand.  
With humor mix'd in your fore-fathers way,  
We've to a single tale reduc'd our play.  
Charming *Marina's* wrongs begin the scene ;  
*Pericles* finding her with his lost queen,  
Concludes the pleasing task. Shou'd as the soul,  
The fire of *Shakespeare* animate the whole,  
Shou'd heights, which none but he cou'd reach, appear,  
To little errors do not prove severe.

If, when in pain for the event, surprise  
 And sympathetic joy shou'd fill your eyes ;  
 Do not repine that so you crown an art,  
 Which gives such sweet emotions to the heart :  
 Whose pleasures, so exalted in their kind,  
 Do, as they charm the sense, improve the mind."

In Lillo's play the story is told in three acts. Naturally several of the *dramatis personæ* of the first act disappear; King Antiochus and his daughter, King Simonides, Lychorida, the nurse of Marina, and Cerimon and Philemon are not to be found. Escanes alone attends upon Pericles. In place of Cleon and Dionysa, Philoten appears as Queen of Tharsus; Shakespeare's Valdes is refashioned as chief of the pirates; Lysimachus appears as governor of Ephesus, and the scene is transferred from Mitylene to Ephesus. Lillo begins with Shakespeare's fourth act, in which Marina first appears.

The reader is referred for an analysis of the plot of *Marina* to Shakespeare's "Pericles" und George Lillo's "Marina" von Dr. Paul von Hofmann-Wellenhof, Wien, 1885, pp. 13-21.

#### SHAKESPEARE'S "PERICLES PRINCE OF TYRE."

The first mention of Shakespeare's *Pericles* is in the *Stationers' Register*, under date of May 20, 1608 :

"Edward Blount entred for his copie under thandes of Sir George Buck Knight and Master Warden Seton a booke called *The booke of Pericles prince of Tyre*" (Arber's *Transcript*, iii, 378). It appears to have been produced in 1607 or 1608. In *Pimlyco or Runne Redcap*, the extant copies dating from 1609, but originally produced, according to Warton, in 1596, occurs the following reference to *Pericles*:

"Amazde I stood, to see a crowd  
 Of *Civill Throats* stretched out so loud ;  
 (As at a new-play) all the Roomes  
 Did swarne with *Gentiles* mix'd with *Groomes*,  
 So that I truly thought all these  
 Came to see *Shore* or *Pericles*."

F. G. Fleay is inclined to think that the play was performed earlier than 1607. He fancies a resemblance between Act iii, Scene ii, of *Pericles* (the restoration to life of Thaisa) and a scene of sham restoration in *The Puritan*, a play acted in 1606. It is quite probable, however, that the likeness is accidental. The pop-

ularity of the play is apparently attested by Robert Tailor in *The Hogge hath lost his Pearle* (1611):

"If it prove so happy as to please  
Weele say 'tis fortunate like *Pericles*."

Richard Brathwaite, in his *Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), mentions "valiant Boult," who might therefore be a popular stage character. The story itself was declaimed against by the judicious. Chaucer assumed indignation at the publication of the story by Gower, and denounced *Apollonius* as "so horrible a tale for to rede." Owen Feltham, in *Lusoria* (1661), has the line:

"displease as deep as *Pericles*."

And in like spirit Ben Jonson in his ode, *Come Leave the Lothea Stage* (1616), complains of "Some mouldy tale like *Pericles*." Neither is the contemporary allusion to the success of the play all of one mind. Jo: Tatham, in verses prefixed to R. Brome's *Joviall Crew* (1652), says:

"There is a Faction (Friend) in Town, that cries,  
Down with the *Dagon-Poet*, *Johnson* dies.  
Beaumont and Fletcher (they say) perhaps, might  
Passe (well) for current Coin, in a dark night :  
But *Shakespeare* the *Plebeian Driller*, was  
Founder'd in 's *Pericles*, and must not pass.  
And so, at all men fie, that have but been  
Thought worthy of applause."

On the other hand, Dryden (in 1672), in his Prologue to *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, speaking of the early plays as notable for "some ridiculous incoherent story, which, in one play, many times took up the business of an age," supposes he "need not name *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* nor the historical plays of Shakespeare."

In June, 1631, the play was performed on a special occasion, and the receipts, £3.10, taken at the Globe, were paid to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, "for a gratuity for the liberty gain'd unto them of playinge, upon the cessation of the plague." Halliwell-Phillipps printed "a copy of a letter of News, written to Sir Dudley Carleton, at the Hague, May 24, 1619, containing a curious account of the Performance of the Drama of *Pericles* at the English Court. Printed anno domini 1865." [This performance of the play at court probably led to the publication of the fourth

edition of the play in that year.] In this little book, of which only twenty-five copies were printed and fifteen destroyed by Halliwell in his usual provoking fashion, we read : "In the Kinges greate chamber they went to see the play of *Pirracles, Prince of Tyre*, which lasted till two o'clock. After two actes the playeres ceased till the French all refreshed them with sweetmeates brought on chynay voiders, and wyne and ale in bottelles. After the players begann anewe" (p. 11).

In recent times *Pericles* has rarely been acted. Alfred Meissner for a long time proclaimed that *Pericles* was the equal of *Winter's Tale* in its histrionic possibilities. His wish to see the play embodied in the German repertoire was finally realized. Possart produced it in Munich, October 20, 1882, and the magnificence of the acting and the stage appointments Meissner described with lively enthusiasm in the eighteenth volume of the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*.<sup>1</sup> The resuscitation scene and the storm scene seem to have impressed the audience greatly, and from the third act the spectators were irresistibly carried away.

*Pericles* was several times published in quarto before it appeared in a folio edition. The first and second quartos appeared in 1609, the third in 1611, the fourth in 1619, the fifth in 1630 and the sixth in 1635. The play is not in the first or second folios, but is printed in the third folio (1664). That it was popularly ascribed to Shakespeare, however, there is sufficient evidence; as in Sheppard's *The times displayed in six sestyads* (1646) :

"With Sophocles we may  
Compare great Shakespear Aristophanes  
Never like him, his Fancy could display  
Witness the Prince of Tyre, his *Pericles*.

There is some doubt as to the priority of the two quartos of 1609. Both are in the British Museum, and both have been reproduced in *facsimile* by the Griggs process in the series of "Shakespeare quarto facsimiles." Introductions to the two quartos were written by P. Z. Round of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for many courtesies in my study of the quartos. The British Museum Catalogue names the C. 34, K. 36 copy the first quarto, and C. 12, H. 5 the second; but the Cambridge editors

<sup>1</sup>The play was performed to the accompaniment of music. Herman Merivale has also written some charming songs for *Pericles*.

reverse the order of the two, and Mr. Round agrees with them (see introduction to Q. 2, p. x).

The title-page is the same for all the quartos:

"The Late, | And much admired Play, | Called | Pericles, Prince | of Tyre | with the true Relation of the whole Historie, | Adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince: | As also, | The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, | in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter | Mariana. | As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by | his Maiesties seruants, at the Globe on | the Banck-side | By William Shakespeare | Imprinted at London for *Henry Gossen* and are | to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in | Pater-noster row &c | 1609."

It will be observed that the publishers call *Pericles* "a late and much admired play." The only hesitation in believing the play to be of 1608 arises from the allusion in Edward Alleyn's *Memoirs* to the use of "spangled hose in *Pericles*," which may refer to an earlier play of the same title.

Dryden in the Prologue to Davenant's *Circe* 1684, excused the blemishes in *Pericles* on the ground of its being the first heir of Shakespeare's invention:

"Shakespeare's own muse her *Pericles* first bore,  
The prince of *Tyre* was elder than the *Moore*."

There is a discussion of the date and authorship of the play in the *Jahrbuch d. deut. Shak.-Gesellschaft*, Vol. iii, in an article by Delius.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to 1890 the British Museum copy (imperfect) of the third quarto<sup>2</sup> (1611) was believed to be unique. A perfect copy owned by Morris Jonas was described in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1890. I have collated this copy with Q. 1, and find very few im-

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Bullen (*The Athenaeum*, Sept. 21, 1878) directed attention to an early reference to a passage of *Pericles* found in *Law Tricks* a play by John Day:

Joculo: But, Madam, do you remember what a multitude of fishes we saw at sea? And I do wonder how they can all live by one another.

Emilia: Why, foole, as men do on the land, the great ones eat up the little ones (Sig. B3, recto).

Cf. the fisherman's colloquy in *Pericles*, ii, 1:

3 Fish.: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

1 Fish.: Why, as men do a-land, the great ones eat up the little ones.

*Law Tricks* appeared in 1608.

<sup>2</sup> The British Museum copy lacks leaves D2 and D3 (27-30) of the *facsimile* of Q1.

portant differences. The changes are chiefly in spelling and in punctuation.

The fourth quarto (1619) was probably published in consequence of the revival of interest in *Pericles* owing to the performance of the play at court.

No Shakespearian play, save one or two Histories, was so many times printed in quarto. Sir William Davenant's company acted the play between 1660 and 1671, and, according to Downes, "Roscius Anglicanus," *Pericles* was a favorite part with Betterton.

Why did not John Heminge and Henry Condell see fit to include *Pericles* in the first folio? The attempt to answer the question opens the whole problem of Shakespeare's part in the authorship of the play. Its first appearance in folio is in 1664, and the editors of that edition seem to have used the quarto of 1635 (this is the opinion of the Cambridge editors).

Three theories concerning the authorship of *Pericles* have received the critical attention of Shakespearian scholars. According to the first theory, Shakespeare is the sole author of *Pericles* but the play combines two periods of his life. In other words, it was taken up, as Staunton believed, soon after its appearance in 1590 and experimented upon by Shakespeare in his youth; then from some inexplicable cause it was cast aside, only to be resumed and completed after a lapse of twenty years. Malone, who advanced this hypothesis, afterwards abandoned it. Charles Knight restated it, but, in defiance of the contemporary accounts of it as a "new play" in 1608, insisted upon its having been acted at the outset of Shakespeare's career. If it had been played so early would Meres have forgotten to mention it when he named Shakespeare's plays in 1598? Prof. Paul Stapfer, the learned author of *Shakspere et l'Antiquité*, a work crowned by the French Academy, is a believer in this theory, drawn to it, I think, by his friend Hugo the Younger whose opinion he quotes.

Now can we hazard a conjecture as to why Shakespeare in his age dipped his arm into his wallet and fumbled about after this relic of his immaturity? Gervinus suggests that Shakespeare may have chosen it in order to give his friend Burbage the admirable title rôle. But Burbage's time of flourishing is identical with Shakespeare's maturity, and Gervinus could not believe that at that period Shakespeare could have written a play so faulty both in plot

and style. Of course on the Stapfer-Hugo-Malone supposition it is easy to believe that Shakespeare dipped into his portfolio for a roughly sketched play that would answer his friend's desire and suit his capabilities.

The second hypothesis was the suggestion of Steevens and was upheld by Hallam and Collier. It asserts that Shakespeare adopted, as he so often did in his first period of apprenticeship, the work of another playwright, improved it, rewrote the last scenes, and put it upon the stage in 1608.

Shakespeare is believed to have been for some years a writer for the Lord Chamberlain's company. We know that he revised old plays and collaborated with unknown poets in the preparation of new ones. We know, too, that the various features of Shakespeare's art did not crystallize immediately into a personal and unmistakable manner. He was long a rhymster and a euphuist, plucking and checking at many things in his period of tentative endeavor, while his great predecessor, Marlowe, pursued his lonely and original road with invincible independence. We are bound, therefore, when a play comes to us with the name of Shakespeare upon it to weigh it to the uttermost scruple, for there is always a possibility that Shakespeare had a hand in it, either by way of trial, or in assisting another, or in introducing some felicitous touch into a work he was preparing for his own theatre. Because a play is not in the first folio is not conclusive witness against its genuineness ; it may have been impossible to secure the play owing to the stubborn rights of some bookseller. Nor on the other hand does the appearance of Shakespeare's name upon a quarto play argue necessarily the authenticity of the play. Literary pirates abounded in the "spacious days of great Elizabeth," and the products of the stage were often stolen by shorthand writers for publishers who were "just right enough to claim a doubtful right."

There are many possibilities in the case of a dubious play. It may be a worthy work slightly retouched and heightened by the poet ; such plays are the second and third parts of *Henry VI*. It may be an old piece entirely rewritten ; such an one is *Romeo and Juliet*. It may be one in which Shakespeare wrought in concert with a fellow-author, and here we have for examples *Henry VIII* and *Two Noble Kinsmen*. It may be trial work rejected by Shakespeare and completed by an inferior hand. And it may be an old piece into which Shakespeare has

worked new scenes. It is in accordance with this last thought that Stapfer and Hugo would explain *Pericles*. It is as if Shakespeare had thrown a giant's robe over the dwarfish limbs of the beggarly verse.

There is still another banditti of troubles ambushed for the unwary scholar ; frequently playwrights of an inferior order so catch the secret of a master's manner that they counterfeit it exactly. The voice may be the voice of Shakespeare, but the thought is the thought of Wilkins or Rowley! Hence arises a dual possibility in a line that has the Shakespearean ring, but a suspicious poverty or flatness of meaning ; it may be an authentic but juvenile expression, or it may be a clever counterfeit. There is the notable instance of Edward III, where some cunning hand has caught the style of both Marlowe and Shakespeare and blended them with singular vividness and vigor.

The third hypothesis is that proposed by Mr. F. G. Fleay. He undertakes to invert Steevens' supposition ; that is, he gives to Shakespeare the original writing of the last three acts, subtracting Gower's part and the brothel scene. This outline, according to Fleay, was filled out by another poet of the company with the result which we know.

There has been a great throwing about of brains over the determination of the chronology of Shakespeare's plays. In some vain hope of approaching nearer to the personal life of Shakespeare, the scholars of the Shakespearean Guild have occupied their wit and ingenuity in dividing the poet's career into definitely marked periods, and seeking for a parallel between the works of each period and the events, ascertained or imaginary, of Shakespeare's life. The old Shakespeare Society, represented by Halliwell, Thom, Dyce, Collier and Peter Cunningham, scrutinized Elizabethan documents for every rag and remnant of external evidence bearing upon dramatic history. When in 1874 the New Shakspeare Society was founded, an original method of inquiry into questions of chronology and authorship was instituted. Mr. Hales, in two lectures upon the occasion of the founding of the society by Mr. F. J. Furnivall, that indefatigable king of clubs, defined seven tests for determining the growth of Shakespeare's mind and art from the witness of the plays themselves : (1) external evidence, (2) historical allusions, (3) changes of metre, (4) changes of language and style, (5) power of characterization, (6) dramatic unity, (7) knowl-

edge of life. Metrical tests soon overshadowed everything else in the society's work, Shakespeare was turned into a calculation table for the enumeration of feminine endings, stopt lines, middle caesura, weak endings, middle extra syllables, and for the experiment of the initial trochee test, pause test, prevalent word test, and choric reflection test. Out of these researches and the development in the so-called aesthetic criticism of such uncouth terminology as "first reconciliation period," "second recognition period," etc., etc., there was constructed an ideal biography of Shakespeare. And without being actually advanced a single step in our knowledge and enjoyment of the Shakespearian drama, we were told to recognize in the order of the plays as fancifully set forth by the commentators the whole of Shakespeare's spiritual experience. We were to see him "in the workshop, in the world, out of the depths, and on the heights." Moreover, the New Shakspere Society made much of the discovery of strange hands in Shakespeare's text. This reference of dubious or dolorous lines to anonymous or conjectural aliens is as old as Coleridge, who, like Simpson, of Edinburgh, who was unalterably convinced of the infallibility of Euclid, fancied it impossible for Shakespeare to drowse, and so pronounced all his faults to be the intrusion of some unknown playwright. Our better informed critics identify the perpetrator of the outrage and brand upon him his mischievous meddling.

All of Shakespeare's plays, according to the laborious researches of the New Shakspere Society, fall into three or perhaps four groups—the lyric and fantastic, the comic and historic, and the tragic and romantic. And these groups comprehend the years that lie between 1590 and 1610. "The entrance to the third period of Shakespeare," says Mr. Swinburne, "is like the entrance to that last and lesser Paradise of old 'with dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.'" It is the period of stormiest tragedy beyond and upon which shine the mellow glory and serene splendor of the romantic plays with which Shakespeare's career, victorious after years of disaster and bitter experience, concludes. In this final period *Pericles* is classed. With all his unrestrained eloquence, Mr. Swinburne, after washing his hands of the brothel scene in deference to a public of "nice and nasty mind," has said of *Pericles*: "But what shall I now say that may not be too pitifully unworthy of the glories and the beauties, the unsurpassable pathos and sublimity inwoven with the imperial texture of this very play? The

blood-red Tyrian purple of tragic maternal jealousy, which might seem to array it in a worthy attire of its Tyrian name, the flower-soft loveliness of maiden lamentation on the flower-strewn seaside grave of Marina's old sea-tossed nurse." The romantic character of the play, its blending of classical form and mediæval tradition—Goth and Greek each by the other—places *Pericles* in companionship with *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*. Without accepting or approving the methods of the New Shakspere Society, we may agree that *Pericles* belongs to Shakespeare's later years.

<sup>†</sup> The results of the researches of Dr. Boyle (*Transactions of New Shak. Soc.*, 1880-1885, Pt. ii, pp. 323-340), P. Z. Round (Intro. to *Pericles*, Qu. 2) and Delius (*Jahrbuch*, 1868,) seem to indicate that George Wilkins wrote the first two acts and most of the Gower choruses, and that Rowley (?) wrote the brothel scenes.

Shakespeare's part, I hold to be his unfinished work upon what he meant to be the beginning and the end of a play of *Marina*. As we have the text it is marred throughout by the incapacity of the reporter and printer, pirates both. Shakespeare's unfinished work in the last three acts was completed and extended to five acts by a writer who added the Gower choruses. Delius was the first to discover this writer to be George Wilkins (*Shak. Jahrbuch*, 1868, pp. 175-204), but Delius erred in supposing that Wilkins' work preceded Shakespeare's.

Dr. Furnival, at a meeting of the New Shakspere Society, quoted Tennyson as saying that Shakespeare "wrote all the part relating to the birth and recovery of Marina and the recovery of Thaisa. I settled that long ago; come upstairs and I'll read it to you." Upstairs to the smoking-room in Seaford Place we went, and then I had the rare treat of hearing the poet read in his deep voice—with an occasional triumphant 'Isn't that Shakespeare?' 'What do you think of that?' and a few comments—the genuine part of *Pericles*. I need not tell you how I enjoyed the reading, or how quick and sincere my conviction of the genuineness of the part read was. But I stupidly forgot to write down the numbers of the scenes. However, when the proof of Mr. Fleay's print of *The Birth and Life of Marina* came, its first words, 'Thou God of this great Vast,' brought the whole thing back to me, and I recognized in its pages the same scenes that Mr. Tennyson had

read to me." (*Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, Series i, 1874, p. 252*).<sup>1</sup>

#### THE STABILITY OF THE STORY.

It is remarkable that a saga so widespread should undergo so little change in the course of centuries. Occasionally an episode is broadened by the narrator, or local color is painted freely into the work; but the chief outlines of the story remain practically unchanged. The Latin MSS. vary greatly in style and diction. It is clear that many of them are slovenly copies, and Riese, in editing the tale for the Teubner classics, produced an ideal text, that is to say, he mixed the language of several MSS. in the effort to make a clear and readable version.

A careful examination of the MSS. and a consideration of their discrepancies (chiefly verbal) lead to the conclusion that the story has descended along three parallel lines: from the first Godfrey of Viterbo was derived; from the second the *Gesta Romanorum* and the French MS. of the thirteenth century; and from the third the Anglo-Saxon version. The principal mediæval versions may be classified as follows:

<i>Godfrey of Viterbo.</i>	<i>Gesta Romanorum.</i>
Steinhöwel.	French and, indirectly, Italian.
Gower.	Twine.
Shakespeare.	Timoneda's Spanish.
Wilkins.	The Holland <i>volksboek</i> .
	The Hungarian, Swedish, Slavic versions.

Shakespeare is the first narrator of the ancient story to change the name of the hero. The commentators upon the play have usually been satisfied with the conjecture of Steevens that the name *Pericles* was taken by Shakespeare from Sidney's *Arcadia*, where *Pyrocles* figures as one of the characters. It is one of the curious coincidences in the history of this saga, even if it be of no further importance, that in the French prose version Apollonius calls himself *Perillie*, in answer to the query of the daughter of Archistrates.

The appearance of Gower as chorus and prologue points immediately to Shakespeare's source of information. He says:

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<sup>1</sup> George MacDonald made independently a similar division of scenes (see Fleay's *Marina*).

"This Antioch, then, Antiochus the Great  
Built up, this city, for his chiefest seat :  
The fairest in all Syria."

This is an expansion of the *Historia*, which simply affirms, "In civitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia." Twine is the source of Shakespeare's lines in this instance. "The most famous and mightie king Antiochus, which builded the goodly citie of Antiochia in Syria, and called it after his own name, as the chiefest seat of all his dominions." Twine's version in this as in many places corresponds with the Swedish, both proceeding from a common source in the *Gesta*.

When Pericles appears in the palace at Antioch (Act i, Sc. 1), Antiochus says to him :

" Young prince of Tyre, you have at large received  
The danger of the task you undertake."

And Pericles answers, " I have, Antiochus." Here Shakespeare follows the *Historia* as translated by Twine: "juvenis nosti nuptiarum condicionem? At ille ait 'novi'" ("Dost thou knowe the condition of this marriage? Yea, sir King, said Apollonius," Twine).

Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrus*, has carefully compared the readings of the play with the corresponding passages in the other versions; and to his book (pp. 32-67) the student is referred for more minute observation than is possible here.

When Antiochus declares that Pericles has misinterpreted the riddle, he respites him *forty days*, which is the time allowed in the Italian version of Leone del Prete; the Greek has *twenty*; Stein-höwel has *three*; the French and Bohemian have *one*; all other versions have *thirty*. Sometimes a reason is given for the respite, sometimes not. When a reason is given it is usually like that in *Pericles*.

" This mercy shows we'll joy in such a son " (I, i, 118).

(Cf. Heinrich von Neustadt, "Waerstu nicht so ritterlich, schön, mächtig und reich.")

The names of the characters undergo considerable change, the murderer sent forth by Antiochus is called by Shakespeare Thaliard, in Gower he is called Taliart, in Latin Thaliarchus, in Twine Thaliarch, and in the Vienna *incunabulum* Taliardus.

The friend of Pericles, who is called by Shakespeare Helicanus,

appears in the Latin MSS. as Hellenicus, Hellanicus, Ellanicus ; in Italian, Ellanicho ; in Heinrich, Elanicus ; in the *incunabulum* and the *Gesta*, Elamicus ; in Steinhöwel, Elemitus ; in Bohemian, Klavik ; but in Polish and Russian, Elavik ; in Timoneda, Heliato ; in the Swedish, Elancius ; in French, Heliquin ; in Gower, Helican ; in Twine, Elinatus.

Cleon is the name which Shakespeare gives Stranguilio, as he is called in Gower and Twine and the *Gesta* and most of the MSS., though he becomes Stragul in Bohemian ; Stragwilio in the Munich codex ; Estrangilo in Spanish ; Tranquilio in Godfrey ; Tranquyle in Copland, and Transqualeon in French. His wife is named *Dionyza* ; in Latin, *Dionysias* ; *Dionysiades* in Steinhöwel, Twine, Heinrich and Bohemian ; *Deonise* in French, and *Dionise* in Gower.

In Shakespeare the servant of Cerimon is named *Philemon*, nearly as in Heinrich, *Philominus*, and in Bohemian *Silemon*. In Twine he is called *Machaon* ; in Swiss *Pandekta*.

*Boult* is called in some MSS. *Amiantus* ; in Heinrich, Turpian ; in Greek, Πωχαρώπα ; in Italian, *Pocaroba* (Singer conjectures that Boult or Bolt is used euphemistically for *penis*).

*Leonine* is Shakespeare's name for the servant of Dionyza ; he is called *Theophilus* in most versions, while Leonine is the name of the keeper of the brothel in Gower.

Shakespeare departs widely from the *Historia* in the names of the *dramatis personæ*. In the play Athenagoras becomes Lysimachus ; Archistrates becomes Simonides ; Hellenicus becomes Helicanus ; Tharsia becomes Marina ; Stranguillio becomes King Cleon ; Apollonius becomes Pericles.

Dionyza takes under Shakespeare's hand almost the demoniac character of Lady Macbeth. Boult is not new to the story, but is remade. Shakespeare takes Gower's form of a name wherever it differs from the name in Twine.

*Gower.*

Hellicanus.  
Thaliard.  
Dionise.  
Lichorida.  
Philoten.  
Metilene (the city).

*Twine.*

Elinatus.  
Taliarchus.<sup>1</sup>  
Dionysiades.  
Ligozides.  
Philomacia.  
Machilenta.

<sup>1</sup> Thaliart in Wilkins.

Twine calls the daughter of Apollonius Tarsia and the mother Lucina; Gower gives the mother no name and calls the daughter Thaise (the Anglo-Saxon text calls the country *Thasia*, which corresponds to Shakespeare's *Thaisa*). In the *Patterne of Painefull Pleasures* it is Cerimon's pupil, Machaon, who discovers the presence of life in the body of Lucina. And this is the original plan of the Latin *Historia*. In Heinrich v. Neustadt, Gower and Shakespeare it is Cerimon himself who restores the princess to life. If we consider the incident of the erection by the grateful citizens of Tharsis of a statue to the hero who has timely succoured them against famine, we find it in the oldest MSS., in Heinrich von Neustadt, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and it naturally flows thence into Twine, Shakespeare and Wilkins. Gower has copied his account from Godfrey, but adds a touch; the statue, he says, was "over-gilt." Twine has: "they erected in the market-place a monument in the memoriall of him, his stature made of brasse, standing in a charret, holding corne in his right hand, and spurning it with his left foot." Collier observes that "Shakespeare wrote *statute* for *statue*, probably as a joke at the expense of the ignorant folks temp. Elizabeth; but in the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Madden, p. 25, we have *statute* for *statue*, and it is to be suspected that the word in the text should properly be *statute*" (Collier, *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. iv, p. 263; *statue* is the spelling of Q.1, *statute* of Q.2, Q.3).

"And to remember what he does  
Build his statue to make him glorious."

(*Pericles*, ii, Pro.)

The vows of Apollonius have special interest. Shakespeare makes Pericles say of his daughter:

"Till she be married, madam  
By bright Diana, whom we honour, all  
Unscissared shall this hair of mine remain,  
Though I show ill in't." III, iii, 27.

This is all that Shakespeare gives of the ancient vows common to both Latin and Teutonic peoples. Twine says, "hee sware a solemne othe, that he would not poule his head, clip his beard, nor pare his nailes untill hee had married his daughter at ripe yeares."

The episode of the striking of Tharsia by Apollonius varies in the different versions. It is an incident more repugnant than the

brothel scenes. In *Pericles* the brutal act is not performed, but a reminiscence of it lingers in :

“I said my lord, if you did know my parentage  
You would not do me violence.” (V, i, 100.)

These lines are insusceptible of explanation without a knowledge of the earlier versions of the story. There is a hiatus here that must be supplied by reference to Shakespeare's predecessors (see Appendix, p. 108). Twine has, “Then Apollonius fell in a rage, and forgetting all courtesie, his unbridled affection stirring him thereunto, rose up sodainly and stroke the maiden on the face with his foote, so that shee fell to the ground, and the bloud gushed plentifully out of her cheekes. And like it is that shee was in a swoonee.” Godfrey writes, “Pulsaque calce patris Tharsia læsa dolet,” while in Gower it stands :

“And after hire with his honde  
He smote : and thus whan she hym fonde  
Diseasyd, courtesely she saide  
Avoy, my lorde, I am a mayde  
And if you wiste what I am  
And owte of what lynage I cam  
Ye wolde not be so salvage.”<sup>1</sup>

The last element of the story that Pudmenzky employs for comparative purposes is the *riddle* (cf. Pudmenzky, *Shakespeare's Pericles und d. Apol. des Heinrich v. Neustadt*, p. 17). There is first the evil riddle that Antiochus proposes to Apollonius, and later occur the riddles that Tharsia puts to the King for his solution when she plays the harp before him to dispel his melancholy. In the old Latin *Historia* her riddles are eight in number, and the answers are unda, pisces, navis, balneum, spongia, sphæra, speculum, rotæ, scolæ. These very riddles are in the riddle bag of the mysterious Symphosius, to whom we have already referred (cf. Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii, 137). The *Gesta Romani* gives only three riddles. And none at all are found in Godfrey, Gower or Shakespeare (save in Shakespeare the first riddle borrowed from Twine). The literary fashion of the time had changed, and this particular form of diversion was obsolete, yet the appearance of the one riddle in Shakespeare—wretched as it is—is an

<sup>1</sup> In the Greek romance of *Chariton* the hero kicks his wife so that she falls unconscious, and is believed to be dead.

interesting survival of a once popular and significant species of literary entertainment. Riddle-teaching was parable-preaching. It was a mnemonic device, and it became, no doubt, cottage wisdom. But certainly in its genesis, at least, it contained suggestions of something deeper, and the riddle was employed to conceal dangerous truth.

The points of likeness between Gower and Shakespeare are brought out by P. Z. Round in his "Introduction" to Griggs' *Fac-simile Quartos*. The source of the play is mainly the story as told in *Confessio Amantis* (Bk. viii), but the recrimination scene between Cleon and his wife (iv, iii) is from Twine.

Wilkins borrowed phrases from Sidney's *Arcadia*, which are pointed out by the Variorum editors.

Twine follows the Latin *Historia* rather narrowly, but adds occasionally to the narrative. The additions are the following (I quote from the reprint of Twine in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*):

- P. 264, lines 11-22 the storm at sea (cf. *Tempest*, in Griggs qu.).
- P. 265, "a rough fisherman, with an hoode upon his head, and a filthie leatherne pelt upon his backe."
- P. 273, line 10, "examining her urine."
- P. 275, lines 14-21 and 22-25 (cf. Chap. vi).
- P. 276, lines 23 to bottom.
- P. 277, the king's speech to Apollonius, and Apollonius' answer.
- P. 278, 279, the description of the marriage. Twine depicts the dresses and jewelry.
- P. 284, description of Lucina's faultless beauty.
- P. 296, explanation of the term *Priapus*.
- P. 303, lines 9-13, 19-23, 25-28.
- P. 312, lines 7-18.
- P. 320, lines 10 to bottom.
- P. 321, lines 18 to bottom.
- P. 323, lines 7-20.
- P. 325, lines 7-16.

Nearly all of Chap. xxii is original with Twine.

P. 330, line 19 to end of Chap. xxiii.

Generally speaking, Twine enlarges as much as possible, giving speeches in full even when the substance has been related previously. Wilkins did not improve the parts he stole from Twine; witness the account of the wedding festivities and the storm.

Twine was far surpassed, however, as an amplifier by Heinrich

von Neustadt, who goes minutely into a description of Tharsus and the medical lore of his time. Philomin, the forward pupil, says to Orrimonius (Cerimonius), his master :

“ latwerjen traget her  
 die zer amehte sin guot  
 und die daz geliberte pluot  
 von dem herzen triben  
 ez geschiht gern den wiben  
 daz sie amehtig müezen wesen  
 so sie der Kinder genesen.  
 Man truoc dyatameron  
 und dyamargariton  
 und cum miscopiliris  
 dytardion des si gewis..  
 Man prahte ouch da pi  
 dyarodon Julii.  
 Cinciat und mitratacum.  
 Antibacum emagogum  
 die latwerjen sint so guot  
 swem deu amaht we tuot.  
 . . . .  
 da gap man der siechen  
 guoten win von Kriechen  
 pinol von Ciper und Schavernac  
 malvasiam und Bladac  
 win von Chreidpinel  
 turchies unde muscatel  
 moraz unde lutertranc.  
 Reinval douhte in ze kranc” (*Apol.*, 2714-2777).

Notice also this Whitman-like catalogue of stones :

“ Nu merket hie gemeine  
 die ouzerwelten steine  
 die in die Krone sint geslagen  
 als sie der firsche solde tragen.  
 da ist abeston und absinth  
 adamant, schat, und jacinth  
 allabandin und allechorius  
 ametist unde amandius  
 perillus und calcedon  
 carbunculus und calophagon  
 centaureus und celonite  
 calidonius und cegolite  
 corniolus und corallen  
 crisopassus und cristallen

djadochus und dionysia  
 echites elydropia  
 epistratis galaritide  
 jaspis und gerachide  
 panterus und obtallius  
 prasius und saffyrus  
 sardonix und sardius  
 topasios und smaragdus,  
 die steine war en drin gesazt  
 alle in püschenlin gevazzt" (*Apol.*, 18,416-18,439).

Collier, in his introduction to Mommsen's edition of Wilkins' novel, attempts to prove two contentions: first, "that the novel before us very much adopts the language of the play; second, that it not infrequently supplies portions of the play as it was acted in 1607 or 1608, which have not come down to us in any of the printed copies of *Pericles*."

In illustration of the first point, Collier quotes from the novel, "A Gentleman of Tyre—his name Pericles—his education beene in arts and arms, who, looking for adventures in the world, was, by the rough and unconstant seas, most unfortunately bereft both of ships and men, and after shipwreck thrown upon that shore;" and cites the parallel passage from the play:

"A Gentleman of Tyre; my name *Pericles*;  
 My education beene in Artes and Armes:  
 Who looking for aduentures in the world,  
 Was by the rough Seas rest of Ships and men,  
 And after shipwracke, driuen upon this shore" (II, iii, 81).

Collier has greater difficulty in discovering in the text of the novel the lost language of Shakespeare. Act iii, Scene i, of the play, as it is printed, relates mainly to the birth of Marina at sea during a storm. In the novel Pericles thus addresses the infant: "*Poor inch of nature!* . . . thou art as rudely welcome to the world, as ever princess babe was, and hast as chiding a nativity as fire, air, earth and water can afford thee." In the play as printed no corresponding commencement of the apostrophe, "*Poor inch of nature!*" is to be found, and yet the words must have come from Shakespeare. No mere hackney scribe could have conceived them. Moreover, the words which follow are nearly identical in the play with the sentence from the novel:

"Thou art the rudelyest welcome to this world,  
 That euer was Princes Child: happy what followes,  
 Thou hast as chiding a nativitie,  
 As Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth and Heauen can make" (III, i, 30).

Here, as Collier says, “‘Poor inch of nature’ is all that is wanting, but, that away, how much of the characteristic beauty of the passage is lost” (Intro., xxxiii).

## CORRELATED STORIES.

When, in 1852, Konrad Hofmann edited the two old French Carlovingian poems, *Amis et Amiles* and *Jourdains de Blaivies*, he did not observe the intimate relation which a part of the latter chanson bears to the celebrated and widely disseminated story of Apollonius of Tyre. As soon as the common origin of the two poems became clear to him, he published in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der k.-b. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu München* (S. 415–418), 1871, a paper on “Jourdain de Blaivies, Apollonius von Tyrus, Salomon und Marcolf.” John Koch, in 1875, in an Inaugural Dissertation at Königsberg, again demonstrated the identity of the two stories, and finally Hofmann completed the study in his *Amis et Amiles und Jourdains de Blaivies* (Erlangen, 1882). We have already noted in speaking of the persistence of the saga that in old French there was but one prose version of the Apollonius, and no new poetic rendering of the story; a circumstance a little surprising when we remember with what avidity the old French grasped new materials, and reduced them to acceptable and popular forms. It is therefore a satisfaction to recognize the old romance undergoing a metamorphosis in the epic of *Jourdains de Blaivies*.

Berger next published an edition of *Orendel* (Bonn, 1888), a middle high German minstrel song which originated, Berger thinks, as early as 1160 (Paul and Braune 13, i). In the twelfth century, the court circles of Germany looked to France for literary inspiration. The most notable epics of the Rhineland that were uninfluenced by the courtly epic were Orendel and Salomon and Markolf. The Crusades form the background of these poems; the scenes are in the Orient, and the incidents are wars between heathen and Christian. Through varying repetition of the original fable, and by the introduction of auxiliary motives, sufficient bulk for a romance was obtained, and the characters of the beggar, the pilgrim and the minstrel were introduced.

Orendel is a king of Treves who wins the love of Bride, the heiress of Jerusalem; wanders like Ulysses; twice frees the Holy Sepulchre, and brings the Holy Coat to Treves. His counterpart is in Snorre's *Edda*, i, 276, which in Norway was connected with the

myth of Thor. Müllenhoff disentangled the primitive mythical Teutonic saga upon which the minstrel based his story (*Deut. Altertumskunde*, i, 32). L. Beer (*Beiträge*, 13, i) opposed the conclusions of Müllenhoff, which, however, were reasserted by F. Vogt in Paul's *Grundriss*, ii, 1, 63, 64.

Svend Grundtvig pointed out similarities of incident and construction in *Orendel* and the Danish ballad (see page 32), and finally Singer (*Apollonius von Tyrus*, pp. 3-33) has compared in detail the three pieces, Orendel, Jourdain and the Danish ballad. The relationship between Orendel and the Apollonius saga has been farther discussed by Tardel (*Untersuchungen sur mittel hochdeut. Spielmannspoesie*, Schwerin, 1894). It is necessary for us to deal connectedly with this singular group of widely separated yet curiously united fables.<sup>1</sup>

In the French poem Jourdain's parents have been murdered by Fromont, and their lands taken from them. Jourdain is cared for and educated by the faithful Renier. Fromont sends out two traitors, to whom he promises five hundred pounds if they bring the child to him. Here the likeness is closest to the old French prose version in which Antyocus (Antioch) is a vassal of the father of Apolonie. When the father is dead, Apolonie is reared by Transqualeon, the provost (prevost) of Tarse. Antyocus oppresses his subjects and is warned by his wife that the people may invoke Apolonie. Thereupon Antyocus sends out thirty men to lay hold upon Apolonie, but he escapes all dangers (si loing que il fust perille). The reward offered to him who shall bring Apollonius alive is in some of the Latin MSS. 100 talents (Riese), and in others fifty. In the Bohemian and Swedish prose versions it is 500 talents.

Jourdain escapes the danger that menaces him, through the device and the devotion of Renier, who sacrifices his own child in his stead<sup>2</sup> (Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia della epopea francese*, 196).

After a time, when Jourdain is well grown, he serves Fromont, unrecognized by him, as a page, but Fromont hates him, for he resembles his slain father (Girard). One day Jourdain carries a

<sup>1</sup> There is a very rare folks-book published in Paris in 1520 entitled, *Les faits et prouesses du noble et vaillant cheualier Jourdain de blaues filz de Girard de blaues lequel en son vinant conquesta plusieurs royaulmes sur les Sarrazins*. Paris, Michel le noir, 1520.

<sup>2</sup> In Timoneda's *Patrañuelo*, No. 37, an only son is sacrificed to save a friend's son.

golden vessel filled with wine to Fromont, who keeps him kneeling. Jourdain complains; Fromont threatens him with worse treatment, whereupon Jourdain retorts and Fromont strikes him with a stick across the head so that he bleeds. Jourdain escapes to Renier, who discloses to him the secret of his birth. Jourdain goes with armed men to Fromont, finds him at the table and with his sword strikes off his nose. In the battle that ensues, Lohier, the son of Charlemagne, takes part and is killed by Jourdain, who takes flight, pursued by the emperor. The old tale of incest is abandoned by the French author. Hofmann sees in Karl (Charlemagne) the image of Antiochus in the old story, but Singer with more reason fancies Fromont to replace Antiochus, and that Karl is only introduced in order to carry the story back to the well-known Carlovingian type.<sup>1</sup>

The poet adds a ghastly humorous touch when he says that Fromont, in order not to suffer alone the shame of his mutilation, orders his knights to have their noses cut off. Singer compares the narrative in the *Kaiserchronik* and in *Toledoth Jeschu* (*Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, ii, 295).

In the adventures that follow, there is an attack by Saracens, of which we shall speak later. Jourdain springs from the deck of the Saracen ship into the sea, and clinging to a tree bough bites his arm and is cast up by the sea upon a foreign shore. The biting of the arm is an allusion to the medieval belief that the sea would permit no bleeding or wounded thing in its dominion (see page 81).

“Il s'est navrez el bras de maintenant  
N'avoit autre arme, dont il se fust aidant,  
Por ce le fist, gel voz di et creant,  
*Mers ne puet sanc souffrir ne tant*”<sup>2</sup> (*J. de B.*, 1260).

Apollonius after his shipwreck arrives at Pentapolis, on the north African coast, in the kingdom of Archistrates, who is depicted as a Greek. Jourdain finds himself in the realm of King Marcus, who is a Christian. In both stories the heroes stand upon the beach lamenting their unhappy fate, when they espied a poor fisherman. The fisher is a good fellow, of a gentle heart, who feeds and

<sup>1</sup> As in *Huon of Bordeaux*. It is the familiar legend of Charlemagne pursuing a vassal who has killed his son.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Modersohn, *Die Realien in Amis und Amiles und Jourdain de Blasvies*, Lingen, 1886, p. 37.

clothes the unfortunate hero and directs him to enter the city (thus in *Godfrey of Viterbo*, *Pericles* and the Italian and elder Greek versions of the *Apollonius*).

Jourdain spends the night with the fisher, apparently that the contest in which he is to engage may take place after matins, and perhaps also for the sake of the picture of the minster and the royal party issuing from it. Thus the evening meal of the Latin and all other versions becomes a morning meal.

While in *Apollonius* the hero displays great skill in ball playing, in *Jourdain* the sport is fencing. The king exclaims: "Who will fight with me?" ("qui vueult iestre mes pers a' l'esquermie"). Jourdain undertakes to resist him, and astonishes the king with his skill. After the sport Jourdain is left alone, but the king sends a messenger to him, who finds him weeping and at first inclined to think the king's invitation a mockery because of his squalid appearance.

The king's daughter, Oriabel, is attracted by the handsome youth, and believes him, because of his beauty and manly bearing, to be of gentle blood (see verses 1408-1414). She begs permission of her father to give clothes to the unknown. He replies, "Ma belle fille gel voil et si l'otroi . . . Quant la pucelle entendit de l'anfant. Que li porroit donner le garnement." She sends him a splendid robe and waits upon him at the ablutions before the meal; and he, by reason of his modesty, becomes the favorite of the king and the beloved of Oriabel ("et la pucelle l'en ama plus trois tans"). In *Apollonius* the princess is not present at the ball play, but appears at the meal which follows it, and the dejected Apollonius is drawn to the banquet by the king and consoled. The princess asks her father who the stranger is, and goes herself to him and inquires his history.

One day Jourdain gives way in the orchard to his grief. He is overheard by the princess, who discovers his secret. Apollonius is overheard by the king playing upon his harp and bemoaning his fate (so in Copland and Wilkins). It has been remarked (Singer, p. 21), that there is here a trace of the influence of a group of märchen in which a hero enters the service of a king, and is surprised in his secret meditations in the garden by the king's daughter.

A number of parallel tales are to be found in J. G. von Hahn's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*. Similarly in *Karlmeinet* and *Gran Conquista* (Bartsch, p. 17)<sup>1</sup> Karl reveals his high lineage alone and lamenting.

<sup>1</sup> Singer, p. 21.

The romances differ in the union of the lovers. The pacific character at this point of the *Apollonius* narrative will be recalled—how Apollonius instructs the princess in music, and is chosen by her as her husband, though she is sought in marriage by lofty suitors. The French epic is more turbulent and clamorous. At an incursion of the Saracens, Jourdain is armed by the king's daughter, is dubbed a knight and engages the chief of the enemy, Brumadant, whom he slays, and brings his head as a bridal gift to Oriabel, whom he marries.<sup>1</sup>

Apollonius resolves to return to Tyre, when he learns of the terrible fate of Antiochus and his daughter. Jourdain longs to see his foster-father, Renier, whom he hopes to find living upon the isle of Mekka or Mesques.

Jourdain's wife insists upon accompanying her lord in his sea voyage. Like the wife of Apollonius, she is pregnant, and during a storm is delivered of a child, whereupon—an interesting divergence from the ancient story—she is thrown alive and conscious into the sea. The priests advise this horrible act, which is again a consequence of the medieval belief that the sea would suffer no wounded body (the body of Oriabel is lacerated) to remain upon or within it. Jourdain fights with the sailors, but is overpowered by them, and the body of the queen, as in the elder story, is thrown into the sea.<sup>2</sup>

In the Christian French story, the resuscitation of the appar-

<sup>1</sup> In the old French prose version the princely wooers from Cypress and Hungary are rejected. They declare war. The princess asks Apollonius if he can fight. In the battle he distinguishes himself and saves the old king.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Erklärung der Stelle, die R. Schröder (*Glaube und Aberglaube in den Afr. Dichtungen*, S. 129) gibt, ist unrichtig und sein Verweis auf die Magdalenenlegende hilft nicht weiter, da die Frau dort wirklich tot ist und nur durch ein Wunder erweckt wird. Immerhin ist die Parallel interessant: auch dort (*s. Roman. Forsch.*, iv, 493, ff.; *Passional ed.*, Hahn, 379, 28 ff.) gebiert eine Frau auf einem Schiffe ein Kind und stirbt an der Geburt, die Winde wachsen zu Stürmen an, die Marner verlangen von dem Ehemann dass er den Leichnam überbord werfe, denn so lange dieser auf dem Schiffe sei, würden sich die Winde nicht legen" (Singer, p. 23).

"Cil chapelain ont lor livres tenus,  
Que por la damme, qui acouchie fu,  
Lor est cist maus de la mer avenus,  
Que mers ne sueffre arme qui navre fust  
Qui en cors soit ne navrez ne ferus" (*J. de B.*, 2154).

ently dead is not accomplished by a physician skilled in the healing art, and by no commonplace application of cotton and heated oil. Oriabel is washed ashore at Palermo (Palerne, as the poem has it), and is discovered by the bishop of that city, who, as he observes the comatose body, remembers a precious ointment which had been sent to him from the Orient, whence come all rare and costly things. It is the same ointment with which Christ was anointed (*dex en ot oingt les flaus et les costez*). Oriabel revives at the touch of this sacred salve, relates her history, and becomes a recluse in a little house by the minster.

The story has here made a long journey from its pagan Greek prototype. Bishops, nuns, priests and minsters have taken the place of the temple of Diana and the physician Cerimon. A like transformation we have seen to occur in the Spanish and modern Greek versions.

The fate of Tharsia takes a somewhat different appearance in the French poem. Jourdain, after the storm in which his wife was thrown overboard, comes to King Cemaire, who reigned in Orimonde (Tharsus) (and who corresponds to Stranguillio). Here his daughter is baptized and named Gaudisce. Jourdain commits her to the care of one Josselme (the counterpart of Theophilus), and departs to seek his queen. He sails by Tunis and the Nile, and at last reaches Palermo, where he finds his wife. He relates to her his adventures in a much briefer way than does Apollonius in the elder story. After he has found Oriabel and Renier, the story returns to Gaudisce. The king of Orimonde had a daughter who was far outshone in beauty and in grace by Jourdain's daughter. The queen's envy was violently aroused, and Josselme is ordered secretly to remove Gaudisce. Under the pretense of conducting her to her father he brings her to Constantinople, when, saying, "I commend thee to God," he abruptly leaves her :

"Gentiz pucelle, a Jesu tæ conmant,  
Qui d'encombrrier gart ton cors avenant"<sup>1</sup> (3161).

Gaudisce, left alone with her nurse, Floriant (Lycorides), realizes her desertion and becomes desperate.

The treachery and brutality of the scene in the bordello are also made less revolting in the French poem. The son of the king of

<sup>1</sup> In the Latin version Tharsia is to be murdered on the shore; only in *Pericles* and the Greek märchen does she accompany the traitor.

Constantinople becomes enamoured of the beauty of Gaudisce, but she rejects his suit, and will approach no man, nor listen to words of affection until she finds her father. The king, dismayed at the melancholy of his son, orders Gaudisce to be offered in a brothel. At this moment her parents fortunately arrive. They had first proceeded to Orimonde, where Josselme, dismayed at the arrival of Jourdain, confesses that he had conveyed Gaudisce to Constantinople, whither Jourdain immediately holds his course. He learns upon his arrival that a woman is to be offered for sale, and his daughter comes at once into his mind. He finds no rest until he offers protection to the unknown unfortunate and recognizes in her his daughter. She marries Alis, the son of the king of Constantinople. They all return to France to be reconciled to Charlemagne. The usurper and murderer, Fromont, is conquered in field fighting by Jourdain, and condemned to be flayed alive and to be dragged to death by a horse. The faithful Renier is rewarded with the city of Blaivies, just as Hellenicus is remembered in the *Apollonius*.

It will be seen that in *Jourdain* the finding of the wife does not conclude the story. Oriabel hears Jourdain lamenting before her cell in Palermo. She thinks she recognizes the voice, and calls him to her window. Mutual recognition follows, and the Bishop dismisses her from her cloistral life.

The story of *Jourdain de Blaivies* is often found associated with the tale of *Amis et Amiles* and both were ultimately inserted in the Charlemagne cycle, Jourdain's father becoming the son of Amis. See also *Deux Redactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*, published by Gaston Paris, Paris, 1876, pp. 161-196, for a discussion of a variation of the *Romance of the Seven Sages* in which the two friends are named Loys and Alexander. This latter story seems to be the foundation of Theodoor Rodenburgh's *Alexander*, a tragi-comedy in forty-four scenes, published at Amsterdam in 1618. Henslowe paid Martin Slaughter in May, 1598, £8 for five books, one of which was a play of *Alexander and Lodwick*. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt believes that this lost play was in some degree like the Dutch tragi-comedy.

Orendel, the hero of the poem which Berger has edited, is the son of Eigel. The name is found in Franconian and Bavarian from the eighth to the eleventh centuries and appears in its earliest form in Lombardy as *Auriwandalus*, which corresponds linguistically with *Aurvandill* or *Horvandillus*. The name, as Müllenhoff

points out, indicates a seafarer (Norse *Aurr*, A.-S. *ear*, moisture —Lat. *Aqua*). Orendel is the son of Ougel or Öigel, who must have been the central figure of a sailor myth. Singer supposes the name to be derived from that of one of the rejected suitors of the daughter of Archistrates, called Ardaleo or Ardaleon in the Latin *Historia Apollonii*.

Singer indulges in some bold speculation in his effort to account for "Orendel, son of Eigel." He remembers that in Vienna Codex 333<sup>2</sup> the unsuccessful suitor is called Ardonius, as in Velser and the *Gesta*, and in the Spanish *Libre de Apolonio* he is named Aguylon, and Singer supposes that the Spanish may be a mutilated form and may lead back to *Artigilon* (of the middle German prose). He then imagines that Ardonius Agilon came to stand together, so that the French version, leaning upon domestic names, and mistaking the second form to be a genitive, converted it into Arondeus fils Aiglon, and the German poem in turn transmuted it into "Orendel, Künec Eigels sun." Similarly Singer supposes Jourdain to be a corruption of Ardonius, perhaps by attraction to St. Jordan who in 1236 suffered shipwreck on his way to Palestine. The names of the characters in this world-traveled tale have suffered in their journeys strange transformations and bewilderments. Apollonius becomes Perillie in Bohemian and Pericles in Shakespeare. Timoneda names the murderer Estrangilo (Stranguillio) and gives the real murderer's name to a senator, Teofilo (Theophilus).

Orendel in the poem is shipwrecked on his way to meet his bride, as Apollonius is in the Danish ballad. Notice the confusion between the daughter of Antiochus and the daughter of Archistrates. Orendel consults with his father concerning his purpose. Apollonius consults with his mother (according to the Danish ballad), or with his councilor (according to the Bohemian folks-book).

The mother and councilor dissuade Apollonius; the father encourages Orendel. The description of the departure of the vessel abounds with lively touches, after the manner of Dümmler's metrical Latin version. Huge quantities of food are taken on board, enough for eight years, in which there may be a reminiscence of the heavy freighting of the ship on the occasion of the second embarkation of Apollonius (to Tharsus) when he takes with him 100,000 bushels of corn.

A storm drives Orendel into the Klebermer (literally, *sticky sea*;

a traditional sea, possibly the Sargasso), where he is detained three years, until redeemed by divine help. So in Heinrich von Neustadt the fleet of Apollonius is driven upon the *Lebermer* (same as Klebermer) and detained a year, until the heathen gods chance to pass by and free the hero.

Orendel has a successful sea-fight with the fleet of the pagan king Pelian von Babilon, which corresponds in *Jourdain* with the surprise attack by the Saracens upon the sea. Doubtless both incidents grew out of the circumstance that in all the versions of the Apollonius story Antiochus equips a fleet that vainly pursues Apollonius after his solution of the king's riddle and his subsequent flight. In the old French prose version Antiochus prepares snares for Apollonius even *before* he comes to Antioch as a suitor, and sends out soldiers to destroy him. Curiously enough in Heinrich von Neustadt Thaliarchus, the *major-domo* of Antiochus, fights with Apollonius, but is conquered in the duel.

It is easy to account, also, for the appearance in *Orendel* of the heathen king Pelian von Askalon, who craves possession of Orendel's bride, and threatens to hang Orendel on a gallows in the castle moat. No doubt this is the same Antiochus who desires to live in shame with his daughter and threatens to kill her suitors and impale their heads upon his castle wall.

Orendel is shipwrecked, lies three days in the sand, and then sees a fisherman approaching in a boat. In the Bohemian folks-book Apollonius swims three days and nights upon a log of wood, and on the fourth day he sees a fisherman in a boat. A similar situation is in the French prose romance. In *Jourdain* the fisher arrives in a boat, as also in the Danish ballad and the Cretan version. The fisher is old but robust—*quendam robustum senem* (Riese). The fisherman displays fear of Orendel, precisely as in the Danish ballad the fishers fear Apollonius (see p. 33). Orendel tells him that he is a shipwrecked fisherman. In some versions Apollonius refuses to tell his name. So in Godfrey, and Steinhöwel, and Shakespeare—"What I have been I have forgot to know."

In the French version he says he is a shipwrecked merchant; in Timoneda he is questioned by a bather, and he says he is a bafador from Tyre.

Orendel offers himself as a servant to the fisherman. In the Bohemian the fisher says, "Do you not know that having come out of the sea you are my serf? But God forbid that I should do you

any harm!" The fisher takes Orendel into his boat (cf. *Pericles*, "Canst thou catch any fishes then?"), who prays God to help him for he cannot fish.<sup>1</sup> He casts out his net, just as in the Danish ballad Apollonius must fish, and even carry the fish-basket. Among the fish that are caught is one in whose stomach they find a gray coat. Blood stains are observed on it, which makes the fisher say that a slain prince wore it. The coat has the appearance of armour. Orendel entreats the fisher to give him the coat, but he refuses, and instead gives Orendel a pair of shoes and a mantle. The coat is sold to him later at a low price, and the fisher pretends that he has given it to him, and begs him if he shall have good fortune in the world not to forget the fisher who succoured him. He is also given a pair of stockings, but there is no word of a partition of the fisher's mantle.<sup>2</sup> In Wilkins' novel Apollonius even gets a blanket for his horse.

Orendel remains six weeks with the fisher and then goes to the city, where he is imprisoned, and released by an angel. He comes to Jerusalem and, asking after the meaning of a noise that fills the air, is told that the Knights Templar are tourneying. In the Latin text Apollonius learns from a herald. In *Pericles* the fishermen have instructed him in advance of a tournament which the suitors have instituted.

Orendel meets two pagans who are rivals for the possession of the queen. They are Merzian and Sudan. Merzian lends his horse to Orendel, who overthrows and kills Sudan, whereupon Merzian takes flight. In *Jourdain* the hero first tries his valor with King Marques, the father of the princess, and then conquers an enemy of the king (Sortin) in serious combat. Marques and Sortin, Merzian and Sudan, are evidently identical names, or names of common origin. Singer conjectures that Marques arose from *regem Arches-tratem!* In the Latin *Apollonius*, it will be remembered, there is ball play, and gifts by the king, and then the dismissal of three suitors. In Copland there are only two suitors (as in Stein-höwel, Bohemian and French). In the French story the suitors go to war, and are conquered by Apollonius. Only one of the suitors has a name—Ardalio<sup>3</sup>. Pericles buys a horse with a jewel, conquers

<sup>1</sup> In the French and Spanish he declines smilingly the invitation to fish.

<sup>2</sup> The Bohemian and the Danish know nothing of the division of the cloak which the Latin speaks of. The Italian calls it "vestimento di Grigio."

<sup>3</sup> In Twine only have the other suitors names—Munditius and Camillus.

five suitors, and in a later scene, Act ii, Sc. v, three more appear who are dismissed. In Wilkins, the king gives the hero, after his successful tourney, a horse and a pair of golden spurs.

The queen sends a messenger to Orendel to summon him to her presence. The messenger at first hesitates to go, awed by the terrible appearance of Orendel. When at last he obeys the queen's command and delivers her message, Orendel, like Apollonius, believes that he is mocked and made sport of because of his shabby clothes.

His path is beset with perils. The Knights Templar attempt to kill him; at the court of the king he finds an envious old man who calumniates him.

Battles with giants follow. He fights with Mentwin and Merzian. The queen asks him if he is not King Orendel. He replies that he is only a poor pilgrim. She calls him Mr. Graycoat, for she cannot learn his real name. In battle with the giant Pelian he utters his own name aloud (like Rustum), and the Knights Templar, realizing that he is indeed a king, worship him, and the queen exclaims, "Now I am indeed happy that I have always been faithful."

After the scene in which the fisher is rewarded, which is commented upon elsewhere, the combat for Westphal follows, at which siege Orendel by means of a grappling hook is pulled over the wall and captured. A somewhat similar scene is in *Jourdain*, and in Heinrich von Neustadt there is a naval battle between Apollonius and Absalon, in which the latter is drawn by a grappling hook into the hostile vessel.

Orendel is called home by an angel to protect his kingdom against the pagans. In the French the kingdom in question is the hereditary kingdom of Apollonius: Antiochus is merely a satrap who wrongfully kept it from him. In Timoneda and *Pericles* the kingdom is Tyre, which in Timoneda has been usurped by Taliarca, while in *Pericles* an insurrection is threatened.

Orendel at first thinks to return alone, but Bride (his queen) is resolved to journey with him. She proposes to make the fisher a ruler in their absence, but the fisher refuses and all three depart together. In Timoneda the fisher is master of the galleys to Apollonius, and is finally made Viceroy of Tyre. Upon the voyage the queen falls into a trance and is thrown into the sea in a chest. She is found by Daniel and Wolfhart and brought to the pagan King Minolt. With the help of the fisher Orendel rescues her.

Again Durian brings her to the pagan King Wolfhart, but Durian, himself, helps her to preserve her chastity. It is interesting to note the confusion here, and to see the queen playing the rôle which the Latin *Historia* assigns to the daughter. The scenes here correspond to the scene in the brothel. In the second scene Wolfhart (Singer suggests, p. 15) is a translation of Lupanar, and Durian takes the place of Villikus, who is to deprive the queen of virginity, but he figures in the light of a protector, and in Heinrich is called Turpian (or Turian, as it is in a Spanish romance related to the Jourdain).

The Danish ballad has already been described and its correspondence to Jourdain indicated. The home of King Apolonn in the ballad is Naples. The emperor, who at one time represents Antiochus and at another Archistrates, lives in Speier. He has a daughter whom he rates at the sea's worth, and thinks no one worthy of her save Apolonn. She writes a secret letter, in which she confesses her love for him, as the daughter of Archistrates does in the Apollonius story. The emperor now bewitches the shore of his kingdom so that Apollonius is shipwrecked there. To this end he commands the aid of twelve *troldquinner*, as in the *Fridthiofsage*. Helgi makes use of two witches for the same purpose (Singer, p. 31). All the mariners are lost save Apolonn only, who retains his lyre. (The remainder of the story is as upon page 33.)

The riddles form an extremely interesting and important part of the Apollonius story. They incline to the Salomon-Markolf type of romance. Kemble's introduction to the Anglo-Saxon *Salomon and Saturnus*<sup>1</sup> is still a classic chapter in the history of this curious and universal literary type. Schaumberg's "Salomo und Markolf" in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, ii, 1, and Vogt, *Die deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf*, illustrate the mythic dignity of character which originally belonged to the *disputatio*. This legendary stock, as Prof. Earle says, sent its branches into all the early vernacular literatures of Europe. From a rabbinical root, the strange legend in which at first Solomon and Hiram, King of Tyre, exchanged hard questions, and in which at a later time Solomon and Mercury, and Solomon and a "Chaldean Earl" dispute seriously, develops into a mocking form of literature in which religion is a burlesque and the poet a bufoon.

<sup>1</sup> *The Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus*, with an historical introduction by J. M. Kemble, London, 1848.

King Hiram of Tyre helps in the building of Solomon's temple (see 1 Kings v. 1). Solomon sends a messenger to Hiram, demanding, "Send me a learned man," and Hiram replies, "I have sent to thee a prudent and wise man (a cunning man indued with understanding) of Hiram my father's" (2 Chron. ii. 13) [misi ergo tibi virum prudentem et scientissimum Hiram patrem meum]. The Vulgate here merely translated the half name. *Hiram Abi* (Heb.) signifies literally "my father noble born," and so *Churam abiv* is equivalent to "his father is noble born." According to the Vulgate the passage (2 Chron. ii. 13) would seem to mean that the architect Hiram was the father of King Hiram, and then again the father of Solomon. In close connection with this passage is the famous description of the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 29-34): "Dedit quoque Deus sapientiam Solomoni, et prudentiam multam nimis et latitudinem cordis quasi arenam, quæ est in litore maris. Et præcedebat sapientia Salomonis sapientiam omnium orientalium et Ægyptiorum, et erat sapientior cunctis hominibus, sapientior Ethan, Ezrahita et Heman, et Chalcol et Dorda, filiis Mahol, et erat nominatus in universis gentibus per circuitum. Locutus est quoque Salomon tria millia parabolas, et fuerunt carmina ejus quinque et mille et *disputavit super lignis a cedro*, quæ est in Libano, usque ad hyssopum quæ egreditur de pariete et disseruit de jumentis et volucribus et reptilibus et piscibus, et veniebant de cunctis populis ad audiendam sapientiam Salomonis et ab universis regibus terræ, qui audiebant sapientiam ejus."

In this Biblical Mahol Hofmann sees the later romantic Marcol, Marcolf, Morolf, who disputes with Solomon in riddles. And he adds, "Wenn man erwägt, wie gewaltig die Namen des alten Testamentes in der Septuaginta, Vulgata, bei Flavius Josephus und sonst verändert werden, so wird die Verwandlung von Mahol (Machol) in Marcol, vielleicht unter Einwirkung von Chalcol, nicht besonders auffallen."

The saga made an ambassador of this King of Tyre who competed with Solomon in riddles, and who on the one hand occupies the place of the architect, Hiram Abi, and on the other that of Marcol and his sons. This myth developed in the first century after Christ and is mentioned by Josephus (Bk. viii, Chap. v) after Menander who translated the Tyrian originals out of Phoenician into Greek. After the death of Abibal, says Josephus, his son Hiram succeeded. At this time the youngest son of Abdemon

lived, who always solved the riddles which Solomon proposed. Dion says Solomon sent riddles to Hiram and received some from him. Whoever could not find the answers was to pay money to him who was successful. Hiram failed and was obliged to pay a heavy fine. However, he learned the answer to the riddle from Abdemon, a Tyrian, who also gave other riddles to Solomon which he could not answer, and so was compelled to forfeit to Hiram. This Abdemon or his son is the Hiram Abi of the Bible, and in two MSS. he is called *'Αβραμος*. (It has been suggested that we have here the original source of Bürger's ballad of the king and the abbot of St. Gall, and of Schiller's *Teilung der Erde*.)

At the end of the fifth century this history first appeared in western literature. The decree of Damasus, or Gelasius, the first index librorum prohibitorum, mentions among other notable books the *Contradiccio Salomonis*, which was withdrawn from the Canon because of its deviation from the Scriptural narrative. The *Salomon-Markolf* was in Germany in the tenth century, for it is quoted by Notker, of St. Gall. It is not improbable that the Proverbs in the St. Gall Rhetoric are taken from the St. Gall Salomon-Markolf. In the twelfth century, Bp. William of Tyre recognized the identity of the Salomon-Abdemon story with the Salomon-Markolf story. By a change of names and localities a second type of myths appeared, in which a princess is wooed by riddles with risk of life to the unfortunate suitors. Here we have the Antiochus type. A very early indication of this condition is to be found in Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, cap. 68, where Salomon and Hiram are shown to be brothers-in-law, and, according to the Phœnician histories of Theodotus, Hypsicrates and Mochus, it is reported that Chiram has given his daughter to Solomon in marriage.

The change of the scene of the history from Jerusalem to Antioch points to the time when Jerusalem, conquered for the second time, had ceased to exist, and had even disappeared as a name, its site being occupied by a Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, while Antioch had become the chief city of Syria. The middle link between Machal and Markolf is Marcol, the Hebraized name of Mercury, which could only have become known to the Jews after the Roman conquest of Palestine (see B. Stentz, *Die Hiram Sage, Handschrift für Brüder Meister*, Berlin, 1871).

The figures of Christian and pagan literature and mythology

often proceed in medieval romance in strangely assorted companies. Solomon and Mercury seems an oddly chosen companionship. In the stories of Solomon we find him frequently engaging in conflicts with djinns or demons. He overpowers and holds in subjection all but Sachr (or Asmodeus), whom he finally conquers by artifice and from whom he learns how to obtain possession of the worm Schamir which cuts stones without noise—an obvious reminiscence of the building of the temple of Solomon, without the sound of a hammer ("like a tall palm the silent temple grew"). With the conception of Solomon as the wisest and most eloquent of men and the most powerful conqueror of spirits, there must have come a moment in the evolution of the story in which he would measure his prowess with the demons of the classic world. Mercury excelled in discourse. It was therefore but natural that with him Solomon should enter into argument. When Paul and Barnabas preached in Lystra, the people cried, "The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men," and they called Barnabas, Jupiter, because of his stature, and Paul, Mercury because of his eloquence.

In the Vienna Apollonius, MS., 480, occurs the following note :

"Nota quod de isto Apollonio tyro magister in scolastica ystoria in libro tercio regum in rubrica de opidis datis yram a Salomone. Testatur Josephus Menandrum fenicem ystoriographum scripsisse quod Salomon et yram mutuo sibi scriperunt enigmata et figuræ quod qui non solueret tercam daret alteri pensione an cumque artetur yram in solucione conpelebat tyrum juvenem abdimum abdemonis filium qui omnino de facili explicabat."

A deeply interesting theory, set forth with much learning and ingenuity by A. Vesselovsky—*Iz istorii literaturnavo obshchenia vostoka i Zapada, Slavianskaia Skazania. Solomonge i Kitovrase i Zapadnya legendy o Marolfe i Merline*, St. Petersburg, 1872—seeks to identify Markolf with Merlin, and so associate the ancient *disputatio* with the Celtic story of Arthur. In Elie de Saint-Giles (early thirteenth century) the abduction of Solomon's wife as narrated in Solomon and Markolf is described, and the names of Arthur, Gawain and Mordred appear.

*Arnold de Guisnes, Chronique de Guisnes et d'Ardres, par Lambert, curé d'Ardres ed. par le Marquis de Godefroy Menilgaise, Paris, Renouard (1855, C xcvi, pp. 215-217)* reads "cognatum suum Walterum de Clusa nominatum, qui de Anglorum gestis et fabulis,

de Gormundo et Isembardo, de Tristanno et Hisolda, de *Merlino* et *Merchulfo*, et de Ardentium gestis diligenter edocebat." Prof. Vesselovsky concludes, "Our comparison of Merlin with Asmodeus-Kitovras, and the type of Morolf, has shown us that the legend of Merlin is more archaic than the German poem of Solomon and Morolf, and more nearly approaches the Talmudic-Slavonic legend" (p. 331).<sup>1</sup>

The universal popularity and wide circulation of the tale of Apollonius of Tyre is further illustrated by the *Thidrik-Saga*, in which Apollonius appears, and by the *Vilkina-Saga*, in which King Artus of Bertangaland has two sons, named Iron and Apollonius, the latter of whom was appointed by Attila, Jarl of Tyre (see P. E. Müller, *Saga Bibliothek*, ii, 209).

The explanation of the firm hold that this story has had upon so many centuries and peoples is a tempting subject of philosophical study. It comes to us stained through and through with medieval legend and superstition. As ancient Gower says in the play :

"It has been sung at festivals,  
At ember eves and holy ales,  
And lords and ladies in their lives  
Have read it for restoratives."

#### COLOPHON TO WYNKYN DE WORDE.

**C**Thus endeth the moost pycfull hystory of the noble Apolyn somtyme kyng of Thye neidly translated out of frenslie in to englyshe. And empynced in the famous cyte of London in the fletestrete at þ hygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. In the yere of our lord. M.D.XXII. the xxviii. daye of the moneth of Febrary. The fyft pere of the regyne of the moost excellent and noble kyng our ryght naturall and redoubted souerayne lord kyng Henry the viii. \*

#### THE END.

<sup>1</sup> F. Liebrecht (*Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 346-348) discusses the name Marolf and its relations (?) to Merlin and Moloch.

## APPENDIX.

## THE GESTA ROMANORUM TEXT.

De Antiocho qui filiam propriam cognovit et tantum eam dilexit, quod nullus eam in uxorem habere potuit nisi problema ab eo propositum solveret.

Antiochus in civitate Antiochia regnavit, a quo ipsa civitas Antiochia nomen accepit. Ex conjuge sua filiam speciosissimam genuit. Que cum pervenisset ad etatem legitimam et species pulchritudinis accresceret, multi eam in matrimonium petebant cum magna et inestimabili dotis quantitate. Sed cum pater deliberaret, cui potissime filiam suam daret in matrimonium, nescio qua iniqua concupiscentia crudelitatisque fiamma in amorem filie sue exarsit cepitque eam amplius diligere quam patrem opporteret. Qui cum luctatur cum furore, pugnat cum pudore, vincitur amore. Quadam die accessit ad cubiculum filie sue et omnes longe secedere jussit, quasi cum filia sua colloquium secretum habiturus. Stimulante furore libidinis diu repugnante filia nodum virginitatis erupit. Cumque puella quid faceret cogitaret, nutrix subito ad eam intravit. Quam ut vidit flebili vultu, ait: "ob quam rem affligitur anima tua?" Puella ait: "o carissima, modo hic in cubiculo duo nobilia nomina perierunt." Ait nutrix: "domina, quare hoc dicas?" Ait illa: "quia ante matrimonium meum pessimo scelere sum violata." Nutrix cum hec audisset et vidisset quasi amens facta est et ait: "et quis diabolus tanta audacia virginis thorum et regine ausus est violare?" Ait puella: "impietas fecit hoc peccatum." Nutrix ait: "Cur non indicas patri?" Puella ait: "et ubi est pater? Si intelligis, peribit nomen patris in me; mortis mihi remedium placet." Nutrix ut audivit eam mortis remedium querere, blando eam sermonis colloquio revocavit, ut a proposito suo recederet. Inter hec impius pater, cum simulata mente ostenderet civibus pium patrem, inter domesticos parietes maritum se filie letatur. Et ut semper impii filie thoris frueretur, ad expellendos petidores, qui eam in conjugem petebant, novum genus nequicie cogitavit. Questionem vero proponebat, dicens: "si quis questionis mee solucionem invenerit, filiam meam in uxorem habebit, et si defecerit, decollabitur." Plurimi undique reges et principes patrie propter incredibilem et inauditam puelle speciem venerunt. Et si quis forte prudentia litterarum questionis solucionem invenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur, et caput eius supra portam suspendebatur, ut advenientes imaginem mortis viderent et turbarentur, ne ad tales condicionem accederent. Hoc totum fecerat, ut ipsem et cum filia sua in adulterio poterat permanere. Cum vero tales crudelitates exiceret Antiochus, interposito brevi temporis spacio adolescens quidam Tyrus, patrie sue princeps locuples valde, Appollonius nomine, bene litteratus, navigans Antiochiam intravit, ingressusque ad regem ait: "ave rex!" Et ille: "salvi sunt nupturi parentes tui?" Ait juvenis:

"peto filiam tuam in uxorem." Rex ut audivit, quod audire solebat, respiciens juvenem ait: "nosti nupciarum condicionem?" Ait juvenis: "novi et ad portam vidi." Indignatus rex ait: "audi ergo questionem: Scelere vehor materna carne vescor, quero fratrem meum, matris mee virum; nec invenio." Puer accepta questione paululum recessit a rege et, cum scienciam quereret, deo favente solucionem questionis invenit et reversus ad regem ait: "bone rex, proposuisti questionem, audi ergo solucionem nam quod dixisti 'scelere vehor' non es mentitus; te enim ipsum intuere. 'Materna carne vescor': filiam tuam respice!" Rex ut audivit solucionem questionis juvenem solvisse, timens, ne peccatum suum pateficeret, irato vultueum respiciens ait: "longe es, juvenis, a questione, nihil verum dixisti. Decollari quidem promerueris, sed ecce habebis dierum triginta spaciū: recognita tecum, revertere ad terram tuam! Et si questionis solucionem inveneris, filiam meam in matrimonium accipies; sin autem decolleris." Juvenis turbatus accepto comitatu navem ascendit, tendens in patriam Tyrum. Sed post recessum adolescentis vocavit rex dispensatorem suum, Thaliarchum nomine, cui ait: "Thaliarche secretorum meorum minister fidelissime, scias, quod Tyrus Appollonius invenit questionis mee solucionem. Ascende ergo confestim navem ad persequendum eum. Et cum perveneris Tyrum, quere eum et cum ferro vel veneno interfice! Reversus dum fueris, premium magnum accipies." Thaliarchus statim sumens pecuniam simul peciuitque navem, venit ad patriam juvenis. Appollonius vero prius venit et domum suam introiuit, apertoque scrinio omnes libros respergit. Et nihil aliud invenit, nisi quod regi dixerat, et dixit intra se: "nisi fallor, Antiochus rex ampio amore diligit filiam suam." Et recognitus secum dixit: "quid agis Appolloni? Questionem regis solvisti, filiam ejus non accepisti: ideo delatus es a deo, ut non morieris." Continuoque jussit sibi naves preparare et eas centum milibus modiorum frumenti onerari et multo pondere auri et argenti et veste copiosa. Et cum paucis secum fidelissimis hora noctis tercia navem ascendit, tradiditque se alto pelago. Alia vero die queritur a civibus suis et non invenitur. Meror ingens nascitur, quod amantissimus principis patrie nusquam comparuit; plancus magnus erat in civitate. Tantus vero amor civium circa eum erat, ut multo tempore tonsores cessarent, publica spectacula tollerentur, balnea clauderentur; non tempora, non tabernas quisquam ingreditur. Et cum talia agerentur, supervenit Thaliarchus, qui a rege Antiocho ad necandum eum missus fuerat. Et videns omnia clausa dixit cuidam puero: "indica mihi, si velis vivere, ex qua causa civitas hec in luctu moratur?" Ait puer: "o bone, nescis tu illud? Civitas hec in luctu moratur, quia Appollonius princeps patrie huius at Antiocho rege regressus nusquam comparuit?" Thaliarchus cum hoc audit, gaudio plenus ad navem rediit et Antiochiam intravit. Ingressusque ad regem ait: "domine mi rex, letare, quia Appollonius vos timens nusquam comparuit. Rex ait: "fugere quidem potest, sed effugere non potest." Statim hujusmodi edic-

tum posuit: "quicunque Appollonium Tyrum, contemptorem regni mei, mihi exhibuerit, accipiet quinquaginta talenta auri, qui vero caput eius, centum accipiet." Hoc facto non tantum inimici sed amici cupiditate seducti ad persequendum Appollonium properabant. Querebatur vero Appollonius per mare, per terras, per silvas, per universas indagini et non inveniebatur. Tunc rex jussit sibi classes navium preparari ad persequendum juvenem; sed et moram facientibus, qui classes navium sibi preparabant, Appollonius Tharsum devenit. Et deambulans juxta litus visus est a quodam cive suo Elamico nomine, qui supervenerat in ipsa hora. Et accedens ad eum dixit: "ave, rex Appolloni!" Ille salutatus fecit, ut potentes facere consueverant: sprevit hominem plebeium. Tunc senex indignatus est valde et iterum salutavit eum et ait: "ave Appolloni! Resaluta et noli despicere paupertatem honestis moribus decoratam! Si enim scis, quod scio, cavendum est tibi." Et ille: "si placet, dicio mihi!" Qui ait: "prospectus es." Et ille: "et quis patrie sue proscriptis principem?" Elamicus ait: "rex Antiochus." Appollonius: "qua ex causa?" Elamicus ait: "quia, quod pater est, tu esse voluisti." Appollonius ait: "et pro quanto me proscriptis?" Et ille: "ut quicunque te illi vivum exhibuerit, quinquaginta talenta auri, qui vero caput tuum protulerit, centum accipiet. Et ideo moneo te: fuge in presidium." Sed cum hec dixisset Elamicus, discessit. Tunc Appollonius eum rogavit, ut ad se veniret, et centum talenta auri ei daret. Et ait: "accipe tantum de paupertate mea, quia meruisti; et amputa caput meum et regi presentes et tunc gaudium magnum habebit. Ecce habes centum talenta auri et tu es innocens, quia te conduxi, ut gaudium offeras regi." Cui senex ait: "domine, absit hoc a me, ut hujusmodi rei causa premium accipiam! Apud bonos homines amicicia premio non est comparanda." Et valedicens discessit. Post hec Appollonius cum spaciatur in eodem, loco supra litus, vidit hominem contra se venientem, dolentem et mesto veltu, Stranguilionem nomine. Accessit ad eum protinus, ait Appollonius: "ave, Stranguilio!" Et ipse ait: "quare in his locis turbata mente versaris?" Appollonius ait: "quia filiam ejus (ut verum dixeram, conjugem) in matrimonium petivi. Itaque, si fieri potest, in patria vestra volo latere." Stranguilio ait: "domine Appolloni, civitas nostra pauperrima est et non potest tuam nolilitatem sustinere: preterea duram famem et sterilitatem patimur annone, nec etiam jam civibus ulla spes est salutis, sed crudelissima mors est ante oculos nostros." Appollonius ait: "agite gratias deo, qui me profugum vestris finibus applicuit. Dabo civitati vestre centum milia modiorum frumenti, si fugam meam tantum celaveritis." Stranguilio, ut hec audivit, prostravit se ad pedes ejus et ait: "domine Appolloni, si esurienti civitati subveneris, non solum fugam tuam celabimus, sed si necessitas fuerit, pro tua salute dimicabimus." Ascendensque Appollonius tribunal in foro presentibus cunctis civibus ejusdem civitatis dixit: Cives Tharsenses, quos annone penuria turbat et opprimit, ego Tyrius

Appollonius relevo. Credo enim vos, hujus beneficij memores, fugam celaturos. Scitote enim non me malicia Antiochi esse fugatum, sed vestra felicitate huc sum delatus. Dato itaque vobis centum milia modiorum frumenti eo precio, quo sum in patria mercatus: octo ereis singulos modios." Cives hec audientes, quod singulos modios octo ereis mercarentur, hilares effecti sunt ac gratias agentes statim frumenta portabant. Tunc Appollonius, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris magis quam donatoris nomen videretur assumere, precium, quod acceperat, ejusdem civitatis utilitatibus redonavit. Cives autem, ut tanta viderent ejus beneficia, bigam ejus in foro statuerunt, in qua stans dextra manu fruges daret et sinistro pede calcaret et in base scripserunt: "civitas Tharsia Tyrio Appollonio donum dedit, quod civitatem a seva fame liberavit." Deinde interpositis paucis diebus hortante Stranguilione et Dionysiade ejus conjugi ad Pentapolim Tyrenorum navigare proposuit, ut illic lateret, eo quod bene firma cum opulentia et tranquillitate agerentur. Igitur cum ingenti honore ducitur ad mare et valedicens omnibus ascendit ratim. Sed tribus diebus et noctibus totidem ventis prosperis navigans, subito est pelagus mutatum, postquam litus Tharsie reliquit. Nam paucis horis ventis concitatis, Aquilone vento Euroque instante clauso celo nimia se pluvia erupit. Populus Tiri procella corripitur, ratis pariter dissolvitur. Zephyri fretum perturbant, grando ac nubes tenebrosa incumbent, flant venti fortiter intantum, quod mors cunctos occupat. Tunc unusquisque rapuit sibi tabulas. Tamen in illa caligine tempestatis omnes perierunt. Appollonius vero unius tabule beneficio in Pentapolitanorum litore est pulsus. Stans autem in litora nudus, intuens mare tranquillum sic ait: "o pelagi fides! Facilius incidam in manus crudelissimi regis! Quo pergam? Quam patriam petam? Quis notus huic ignoto auxilium dabit?" Hec dum loqueretur Appollonius, aspexit juvenem venientem contra se quandam, robustum piscatorem sordido sacco coopertum. Cogente necessitate prostravit se ad pedes ejus profusisque lacrimis ait: "miserere, quicunque es, succurre nudo naufrago, non humiliibus natalibus genito! Et ut scias, cui miserearis: ego sum Tyrius Appollonius, patrie mee princeps. Deprecor te auxilium vite mee." Piscator, ut vidit speciem juvenis, misericordia motus erigit illum et duxit infra tecta domus. Posuit epulas, quas habere potuit, et ut plenius sue pietati satisfaceret, exuens se, tribunarium in duas partes dividens, unam dedit juveni dicens: "tolle quod habeo et vade in civitatem: forsitan invenies, qui tui misereatur. Si non invenies, huc ad me revertere! Paupertas quecumque sufficiat: piscemur simul. Illud tamen admoneo te, ut, si quando dignitati tue redditus fueris, ne despicias tribunarii paupertatem." Appollonius ait: "si non memor tui fueris, iterum naufragium paciar, nec tui similem inveniam!" Et hec dicens demonstrata sibi via ille carpens iter portas civitatis ingreditur. Dumque cogitaret, unde peteret auxilium vite, vidit per plateam puerum nudum currentem, oleo caput unctum, sabano precinctum, voce magna claman-

tem et dicentem : "audite, cives omnes ! Audite peregrini et servi ! Qui ablui vult, pergit gymnasium !" Audito hoc Appollonius exuens se tribunarium ingreditur lavacrum, utitur liquore. Et dum singulos intuetur, querit sibi parem nec invenit. Et subito Altistratus, rex totius regionis, ingressus est cum magna turba famulorum. Cum rex ludum spere cum servis suis exercebat, admisit se Appollonius regi et decurrentem sustulit speram et subtili velocitate percussam ludenti regi remisit. Tunc rex suis famulis ait : "recedite; hic enim juvenis, ut suspicor, mihi comparandus est." Appollonius, ut audivit se laudari, constanter accessit ad regem. Et accepto ciromate docta manu circumlavit eum cum subtilitate. Deinde in solio gratissimo fovit eum et exeunte eo ab officio discessit. Dixitque rex ad amicos suos post discessum adolescentis : "juro vobis in veritate, melius me nunquam abluisse quam hodie, beneficio adolescentis nescio cuius." Et respiciens unum de famulis ait : "juvenis ille, qui mihi officium fecit, vide, quis sit." Et ille secutus juvenem vidit eum sordido tribunario induitum. Reversusque ad regem ait : "juvenis ille naufragus est." Rex ait : "unde scis ?" Et ille : "tacente illo habitus indicat causam." Ait rex : "vade celerius et dic ei : rogat te rex, ut venias ad cenam." Appollonius, ut audivit, acquieavit et cum famulo venit ad regem. Famulus prior ingressus ait ad regem : "naufragus adest : sed propter sordidum habitum introire verecundatur." Statimque rex jussit eum indui vestibus dignis et ad cenam ingredi. Ingressus Appollonius triclinium regis contra regem assignato loco discubuit. Infert prandium, deinde cena regalis. Appollonius cunctis epulantibus non epulatur, sed aurum et argentum in ministerio regis diu flens intuebatur. Tunc unus de discubentibus ad regem ait : "nisi fallor, juvenis iste fortune regis invidet." Rex ait : "male suspicaris ; nam mee fortune non invidet, sed plura se perdidisse testatur." Et respiciens Appollonium hilari vultu ait : "juvenis, epulare nobiscum et deo meliora spera !" Et dum hortaretur juvenem, subito introivit filia regis, virgo jam adulta, deditque osculum patri, deinde cunctis discubentibus amicis. Que dum oscularetur singulos, reversa est ad patrem et ait : "bone pater, quis est iste juvenis, qui contra te locum honoratum tenet, qui multum dolet ?" Ait rex : "o dulcis filia, juvenis iste naufragus est et gymnasio mihi officio gratissime fecit, propter quod ad cenam vocavi illum. Quis autem sit, nescio. Sed si vis scire, interroga eum ; te decet omnia nosse. Et forsitan, dum cognoveris, misereberis ei." Hec audiens puella ad juvenem accessit et ait : "carissime, generositas nobilitatem ostendit. Si tibi molestum non est, indica mihi nomen tuum et casus tuos !" Et ille : "si nomen queris, in mare perdi ; si nobilitatem, Tyro reliqui." Ait puella : "apertius dic, ut intelligam !". Tunc Appollonius nomen suum et omnes casus exposuit. Finitoque sermonis colloquio fundere lacrimas cepit. Quem ut vidit rex fletem, ait filie : "nata dulcis, peccasti : dum nomen et casus adolescentis petivisti, veteres ejus dolores renovasti. Ergo, dulcis filia, ex quo jam scis

veritatem, justum est, ut liberalitatem tuam quasi regina ei ostendas." Puella, ut audivit voluntatem patris, respiciens juvenem ait: "noster es, Appolloni! Depone merorem et a patre meo locupletaberis." Appollonius cum gemitu et verecundia gratias egit. Tunc rex ait filie sue: "Defer liram, ut cum cantu exhilares convivium!" Puella jussit afferri sibi liram et cepit cum omni dulcedine liram percutere. Omnes eam cuperunt laudore et dicere: "non potest melius, non potest dulcius audiri." Inter quos solus Appollonius tacuit. Ait ei rex: "Appolloni, fedam rem facis. Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant: quare tu solus vituperas?" Ait ille: "bone rex, si permittis, dicam, quod sencio: filia tua in artem musicam incessit et nondum didicit. Igitur jube mihi tradi liram et statim scies, quod nescisti." Ait rex: "Appolloni, video te eruditum in omnibus." Jussit sibi tradi liram et, egresso foras, corona capitinis eum decoravit. Accipiensque liram introivit in triclinium, pulsabat ante regem tanta dulcedine, ut omnes non Appollonium sed Appolinem crederent. Discubentes cum rege dixerunt, quod nunquam melius audissent nec vidissent. Filia regis hec audiens, respiciens juvenem capta est in amore ejus et ait ad patrem suum: "o pater, permittas me dare juveni, quod mihi placet!" Rex ait: "permitto." Illa respiciens Appollonium ait: "magister Appolloni, accipe ex indulgentia patris mei auri ducenta talenta, argenti libras quadringentas vestemque copiosam, servos XX, ancillas X." Quibus ait: "afferte quod promisi, et presentibus amicis exponite in triclinio!" Jussu regine illata sunt omnia. Laudant omnes liberalitatem puelle. Peracto convivio levaverunt se omnes et valedicentes regi et regine dicsesserunt. Appollonius ait: "bone rex, miserorum misericors, et tu regina, amatrix studiorum, valete!" Et respiciens famulos, quos sibi regina donaverat, ait: "attollite, famuli, hec, que mihi data sunt, et eamus et hospicium queramus!" Puella timens, ne amatorem perderet, tristis est facta. Respiciens ad patrem ait: "bone rex, et pater optime, placet tibi, ut Appollonius hodie ditatus abscedat, et quod illi donavimus a malis hominibus rapiatur?" Tunc rex festinus jussit illi assignari aulam, ubi honeste quiesceret. Puella vero amore accensa inquietam habuit noctem. Mane vero cubiculum patris adiit. Quam ut vidit pater dixit: "quid est hoc, quod preter consuetudinem ita mane evigilasti?" Puella ait: "requiem habere non potero. Et ideo, carissime pater, peto, ut me tradas juveni ad doctrinam, quod potero artem musicam et alia addiscere." Rex hec audiens gavisus est. Jussit ad se juvenem vocari, cui ait: "Appolloni, filia mea multum cupid artem tuam addiscere; ideo rogo te, ut ei ostendas omnia que nosti, et ego mercedem condignam tibi retribuam." Et ille: "domine, paratus sum voluntati vestre satisfacere." Docuit puellam, sicut ipse didicit. Post hec cito puella pre nimio amore juvenis infirmatur. Rex ut vidit filiam suam incurrisse subito egritudinem, medicos vocavit. Illi vero venas et singulas partes corporis tangebant et nullam egritudinem invenerunt. Post paucos dies tres juvenes nobilissimi, qui per longum tempus filiam suam in matrimonium

petierant, regem una voce pariter salutaverunt. Quos intuens rex ait: "qua de causa venistis?" At illi: "quia nobis sepius promisisti uni ex nobis dare filiam vestram in matrimonium. Propter quod hodie simul venimus. Cives tui sumus, locupletes et ex nobilibus geniti. Et ideo de tribus tibi elige, quem vis habere generum!" Rex ait: "non apto tempore me interpellasti. Filia mea studiis vacat et ob amorem studiorum imbecillis jacet. Sed ne videar vobis nimis differre, scribite in codicillis vestris nomina vestra et dotis quantitatatem; que transmittam filie mee, ut ipsa eligat quem voluerit." Illi hoc fecerunt. Rex accepit scripturas et legit signavitque et dedit Appollonio dicens: "tolle, magister, has scripturas et trade discipule tue." Appollonius accepit scripturas et puelle portavit. Puella, ut vidit quem diligebat, ait: "magister, quid est, quod solus introisti in cubiculum?" Appollonius ait: "sume hos codicellos, quos tibi misit pater tuus, et lege." Puella codices aperuit et legit trium nomina petitorum. Perfectisque codicellis respiciens Appollonium dixit: "magister Appolloni, utrum non doles, quod alteri debeo in matrimonium tradi?" Et ille: "non! Quia omne, quod est tibi honor, erit et commodum meum." Ait puella: "magister si amares, doleres." Hec dicens rescripsit et signavit codicellos tradiditque Appollonio, ut eos regi deferret. Et scripsit hec: "rex et pater optime, quoniam clementia tua permisit mihi, ut rescribam, rescribo: illum naufragum volo conjugem habere." Rex cum legisset voluntatem puelle, ignorans, quem naufragum diceret, respiciens ad juvenes ait: "quis vestrum naufragium passus est?" Unus ex illis nomine Ardonius dixit: "ego sum passus naufragium." Alius ait: "tace, morbus te consumat nec salvis nec sanus sis! cum sciam te coetaneum meum, portam civitatis nunquam existi: ubi naufragium fecisti?" Rex cum non invenisset, quis eorum naufragium fecisset, respiciens Appollonium ait: "tolle codicellos et lege! Potest enim fieri, ut, quod ego non novi, tu intelligis, qui presens fuisti." Appollonius acceptis codicellis velociter percurrit et, ut sensit se amari, erubuit. Cui rex ait: "Appolloni, invenisti naufragum?" At ille pre rubore pauca dixit. Rex vero intellexit, quod filia sua eum dilexit. Juvenibus ait: "cum tempus fuerit, mittam ad vos." Illi vero ei valedicentes recesserunt. Ipse vero solus intravit ad filiam suam et ait: "quem tibi eligisti conjugem?" Illa autem prostravit se ad pedes patris sui et ait: "pater carissime, quia cupis audire desiderium filie tue: illum volo et amo naufragum, Appollonium magistrum meum; cui si me non tradideris, filiam amisisti." Rex cum lacrimas filie sue vidisset, levavit eam a terra et alloquitur dicens: "nata dulcis, noli de aliqua re cogitare, quia talem concupisti, quem et ego, ut enim vidi, quia et amando factus sum pater. Diem ergo nuptiarum sine mora constituam." Postero ergo die vocantur amici vicinarum urbium ad regem. Quibus ait: "carissimi, filia mea vult nubere Appollonio magistro suo. Peto itaque, ut vobis omnibus sit leticia, quia filia mea prudenti viro sociatur." Hec igitur dicens constituit diem nupciarum. Fiuntque convi-

via prolixa, celebranturque nupcie regie dignitatis. Puella cito concepit. Et cum puerum in utero haberet, accidit, quod, cum ambularet cum rege Appollonio, viro suo, juxta litus maris, vidi navim speciosam. Cognovit eam Appollonius, quod esset de patria sua. Conversus ad nauclerum ait: "unde venis?" At ille: "a Tyro." Appollonius ait: "patriam meam nominasti." Nauclerus ait: "ergo Tyrus es tu?" Et ille: "ut dicas." Nauclerus ait: "nisti aliquem patrie illius principem nomine Appollonium?" Et ille: "quasi me ipsum." Nauclerus dixit: "peto, ut ubicunque illum videris, dicas ei, ut gaudeat et exultet, quia rex Antiochus fulmine percussus est cum filia sua; opes autem regni Antiochie reservantur Appollonio." Appollonius ut audivit, plenus gaudio ad coniugem suam ait: "peto itaque, ut me abire permittas ad percipiendum regnum." Illa ut audivit, profusis lacrimis ait: "o domine, si in longinquuo itinere esses constitutus, ad partum meum festinare debueras; et modo recedere velis, cum juxta me sis? Sed si hoc velis, pariter navigemus!" Et veniens ad patrem ait: "o pater, letare et gaude, quia sevissimus rex Antiochus cum filia sua dei iudicio in fulmine percussus est, opes autem et diademata nobis reservata sunt. Permitte me navigare cum viro meo!" Rex autem exhilaratus naves jubet produci in litus et omnibus bonis impleri. Preterea nutricem ejus nomine Ligoridem et obstetricem propter partum ejus simul navigare precepit. Et data proficisciendi copia deduxit ad litus osculaturque filiam et generum. Navigabant. Sed cum per aliquot dies in mari fuissent, surrexit tempestas. Gravis puella infirmatur interim et peperit filiam, quod facta est quasi mortua. Quod cum videret familia, exclamavit voce magna et ululatu. Hec audiens Appollonius cucurrit. Vidi conjugem jacentem mortuam, ut ei videbatur. Scidit a pectore suo vestes, profusis fletibus jactavit se super corpus ejus et ait: "caro conjux, Altistratis regis filia, quid respondebo patri tuo pro te?" Et cum hec dixisset, dixit gubernator: "domine, corpus mortuum navis sufferre non valet. Jube ergo hoc corpus in pelagus mitti, ut possimus evadere!" Appollonius ait ad eum: "quid dicas, pessime? Placet tibi, ut hoc corpus in pelagus mittam, quod naufragum me et egenum suscepit?" Vocavit servos suos et ait: "faciat loculum et foramina et cum bitumine liniri . . ." Et sic carta plumbea intus posita facit obturari. Perfecto loculo regalibus ornamentis exornat et puellam in loculo posuit et copiam auri ad caput eius. Et dedit osculum funeri fundens super eam lacrimas. Tunc jussit infantem tolli et diligenter nutrita, ut pro filia neptem regi ostenderet. Et jussit loculum mitti in mari cum maximo fletu. Tercia vero die unda maris ejecit loculum ad litus Ephesiorum non longe a domo cuiusdam medici Cerimonis nomine, qui cum discipulis suis eadem die in litore ambulavit. Tunc vidit loculum effusis fluctibus jacentem. Ait servis suis: "tollite hunc loculum cum omni diligentia et ad villam perferte!" Quod cum fecissent, medicus aperuit, vidi puellam regalibus ornamentis decoratam et speciosam valde et quasi mortuam jacentem, obstupuit et ait: "o bona

puella, quare estis sic derelicta?" Vedit subtus caput ejus pecuniam positam et sub pecunia cartam scriptam et ait: "perquiramus, quid continenter in carta!" Quam cum aperuisset, invenit titulum scriptum: "quicunque hunc loculum invenerit peto, ut X aureos habeat et X funeri impendat. Hoc enim corpus multas lacrimas reliquit parentibus et doles amaros. Quodsi aliud fecerit, quam quod dolor exposcit, ultimum diem incidat, nec sit qui corpus ejus sepulture commendet!" Perfectis autem cartulis ad servos suos ait: "prestemus corpori, quod dolor exposcit! Juro vobis per spem vite mee, in hoc funere amplius me erogaturum, quam dolor imperat." Continuo jubet parari rogum; sed cum edificatur atque componitur, supervenit discipulus medici, aspectu adolescens et, quantum ad ingenium pertinet, senex. Hic cum corpus speciosum super rogum positum vidisset, intuens eum magister ait: "bene venisti: hec enim hora expectavit te. Tolle ampulam unguenti et, quod supremum est de funere, beneficio superfunde sepulture!" Venit juvenis ad corpus puelle, extraxit de pectore vestes, fudit unguentum tractans manu. Totum corpus ad precordia vivere sensit. Obstupuit juvenis, palpat venas et indicia rimatur narium, labia labiis probat, sensit vitam cum morte luctantem et ait ad servos suos: "supponite faculas per IIII angulos lente et temperate!" Quo facto sanguis ille, qui coagulatus erat, liquefactus est. Quod ut vedit juvenis, ait magistro: "puella, quam dicas mortuam, vivit. Et ut facilius mihi possis credere, experimento satisfaciam." His dictis tulit puellam et in cubiculum suum posuit, calefaciens oleum madefecit lanam et posuit super pectus ejus. Sanguis vero ille, qui intus coagulatus fuerat, accepto tempore liquefactus est, cepitque spiritus per medullas descendere. Venis itaque patesfactis aperuit oculos et recipiens spiritum ait: "qualis tu es, non tangas aliter, quam oportet tangere, quia filia regis sum et regis uxor." Juvenis hoc audiens gaudio plenus introivit ad magistrum in cubiculum et ait: "ecce, magister, puella vivit." Qui ait: "probo peritiam, artem laudo, prudenciam, miror diligentiam. Et audi, discipule: nolo te artis tue esse ingratis; accipe mercedem. Hec enim prella multam pecuniam secum attulit." Et jussit eam salubribus vesci cibis et fomentis optimis recreari. Post paucos dies, ut cognovit eam regio genere ortam esse, adhibitus amicis filiam sibi adoptavit. Et ut rogabatur ab ea cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo tangeretur, inter sacerdotes Diane templi eam cum feminis misit, ut inviolabiliter servaretur. Inter hec dum Appollonius navigat cum ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicavit Tharso et descendens a rati petit domum Stranguilionis et Dyonisiadis. Quos cum salutasset, omnes casus suos exposuit eis dicens: "cum dolore mortua est conjux mea; tamen filia est servata, de qua gaudeo. Et ideo, sicut in vobis confido, (Amissum regnum, quod mihi servatur, accipere volo neque ad socerum revertar, cuius in mari perdidii filiam, sed agam potius opera mercatoris): vobis commendo filiam meam, ut cum filia vestra Philomacia nomine nutriatur, et ut filia mea vocetur Tharsia. Preterea uoris mee nutri-

cem Ligoridem nomine curam sue puelle custodire volo." Hec dicens tradidit Stranguilioni infantem deditque aurum et argentum et vestes copiosas. Et juravit neque barbam neque capillos nec unguis tonsurum, nisi prius filiam suam dedisset in matrimonium. At illi stupentes, quod tam graviter juraverat, cum magna diligentia educatores se puellam promittunt. Appollonius autem navim ascendit et ad longinquas Egipti regiones navigabat. Interea puella Tharsia expleto quinquennio traditur liberalibus studiis una cum Philomacia, filia eorum, coetanea sua. Cumque ad XIII annos venisset, reversa de auditorio invenit nutricem suam Ligoridem subitaneam invalidinem incurisse et sedens juxta eam causas infirmitatis explorat. Cui nutrix: "audi, bona filia, verba mea et in corde tuo reserba. Quem tu putas patrem aut matrem vel patriam?" Ait puella: "patriam Tharsum, patrem Stranguilionem, matrem Dyonisiadem." Nutrix ingemuit et ait: "audi, filia, originem natalium tuorum, ut scias, quomodo post mortem meam agere debeas: est tibi pater nomine Appollonius et mater Lucina, Altistratis regis filia, que, cum te pareret, statim precluso spiritu mortua est. Quam pater tuus Appollonius effecto loculo cum ornamenti regalibus in mare misit, et viginti sestercias auri posuit sibi sub caput, ut, ubicunque esset devoluta, illa in auxilium ejus fuissent. Navis quoque luctantibus ventis cum patre tuo lugente et te in cunabulis posita pervenit ad hanc civitatem. Hiis ergo hospitibus, Stranguilioni et Dyonisiadi, una tecum te commendavit Tyrius Appollonius, pater tuus, votumque fecit nec barbam nec capillos nec unguis tonsurum, nisi prius te nuptum traderet. Nunc ergo moneo, si post mortem meam hospites tui, quos parentes appellas, iniuriam aliquando tibi forte fecerint, ascende in forum, et ibi invenies statuam patris tui, stantem. Apprehendere illam et clama: "filia ejus sum cuius est hec statua." Cives vero, memores beneficiorum patris tui, injuriam tuam vindicabunt." Cui Tharsia: "cara nutrix, deum testor, si ita mihi non dixisses unde essem, penitus nescirem." Et cum adinvicem loquerentur, nutrix emisit spiritum. Tharsia vero corpus nutricis sue sepelivit et per totum annum mortem ejus lugebat. Post vero induit priorem dignitatem, petuit scolas ad studia liberalia. Et cum de scolis reverteretur, non prius cibum sumpsisset, antequam nutricis monumentum introisset. Ferens ampullam vini ingrediebatur et ibi manens parentes suos vocabat. Et cum hec agerentur, quadam die Dyonisiades cum filia sua Philomacia et Tharsia transibat per forum. Videntes omnes cives speciem Tharsie et ornamentum dixerunt: "felix pater, cuius filia Tharsia est! Illa vero, que adheret ei, turpis est et dedecus;" Dyonisiades, ut audivit Tharsiam laudari et filiam suam vituperari, conversa in insaniam furoris, sola sedens secum cogitavit: "pater eius ex quo hinc profectus est, habet annos XIII: non venit ad recipiendum filiam suam nec letteras pro ea misit. Puto quod mortuus est—nutrix ejus mortua est: neminem habeo emulum. Occidam eam et ornamentis ejus filiam meam ornabo." Et cum hec cogitasset, venit quidam de villa nomine Theophi-

lus, quem vocans ait: "si cupis premium accipere, Tharsiam interfice." Ait villicus: "quid peccavit innocens virgo?" At illa: "pessima est, et ideo mihi negare non debes. Fac, quod jubeo; et si non feceris, male tibi eveniet." Et ille: "dic mihi, domina, qualiter hoc potest fieri." Que ait: "consuetudo ejus est, mox ut venerit de scolis, non prius sumere cibum, quam nutricis sue introierit monumentum. Ibi te cum pugione paratum inveniat. Apprehende crines ejus a vertice et eam interfice et corpus ejus mitte in mare et libertatem tuam cum magno premio a me accipies." Villicus tulit pugionem. Gemens et flens ibat ad monumentum et ait: "heu, non merui libertatem nisi per sanguinis effusionem innocentis virginis?" Puella autem rediens de scolis monumentum cum ampulla vini intravit, sicut solebat facere. Villicus impetum fecit et apprehendens crines puelle jactavit eam in terram. Dum autem volebat eam percutere, ait ad eum Tharsia: "o Theophile, quid peccavi contra te vel contra aliquem, ut moriar?" Ait villicus: "tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus, qui te cum magna pecunia et ornamentis reliquit." Cui puello: "peto, domine, ut, si nulla est spes vite mee, permittas me deum testari." Villicus ait: "testare! Et deus ipse scit, quod coactus te interficio." Illa vero cum esset posita in orationem, venerunt pirate, et videntes puellam su jugo mortis stare et hominem armatum volentem percutere eam, clamaverunt: "parce, crudelissime barbare! Illa est nostra preda, non tua victoria." At ille, ut talia audivit, fugiens post monumentum latuit in litore maris. Pirate vero rapiunt virginem, mare petunt. Villicus reddit ad dominam et ait: "quod jussisti factum est; tu vero, ut consulo, induas te lugubrem vestem et ego tecum, et effundamus lacrimas falsas in conspectu civium et dicemus eam ex gravi infirmitate defunctam." Stranguilio ut audivit, tremor et stupor invasit eum et dixit: "da ergo et mihi vestem lugubrem, ut lugeam, quia tali scelere sum involutus. Heu, quid faciam! Pater puelle istam civitatem naufragium pertulit, bona perdidit et penuriam perpessus est, et restitutum est ei malum pro bono! Filiam suam, quam nobis commisit nutriendam, crudelis leena devoravit. Heu cecatus sum! lugeam innocentem virginem! Vinctus sum ad pessimam venenosamque serpentem." Elevans oculos ad celum ait: "deus, tu scis, quia mundus sum a sanguine Tharsie, et requiras a Dyonisiade!" Respxit uxorem suam et ait: "quomodo suffocasti filiam regis, inimica dei hominumque obprobrium!" Illa vero induit se et filiam suam lugubres vestes, falsaque lacrimas fundunt et clamabant coram civibus: "cives carissimi, ideo ad vos clamamus, quia spes oculorum nostrorum, Tharsia, quam vidistis, subito dolore defuncta est et nobis cruciatus et amaros fletus reliquit. Quam digne sepelire fecimus." Tunc pergunt cives, ubi figuratum erat sepulchrum et pro meritis patris fabricabant loculum ex ere et scripserunt: "dii manes: cives Tharsie virgini pro beneficiis patris ejus sepulchrum ex ere collatum fecerunt." Igitur qui pueram rapuer-

ant, venerunt ad civitatem Machilenam. Deponitur ergo illa inter cetera mancipia venalis. Audiens eam leno infastissimus ac impurus ac dives contendere cepit, ut eam emeret. Sed Athanagora, princeps ejusdem civitatis, videns eam nobilem, sapientem pulchramque obtulit decem sestercias auri. Leno ait: "ego dabo XX." Athanagora dixit: "ego XXX." Leno: "ego XL." Athanagora: "L." Leno: "LX." Athanagora: "LXX." Leno: "LXXX." Athanagora: "XC." Leno: "in presenti C sestescias auri dabo." Et ait: "si quis amplius, X dabo supra." Athenagora ait: "ego, si cum lenone contendere voluero, ut unam emam, plures venditurus sum. Permittam eum emere, et cum substituerit eam in lupanar, intrabo prius ad illam et eripiam nodum virginitatis ejus, et erit mihi sicut emerim eam." Quid plura? Perrexit cum lenone in salutatorium, ubi habuit Priapum aureum et gemmis adornatum et ait: "puella, adora istum!" Ait illa: "nunquam tale adorem!" Et ait: "domine, numquid Lapsacenus es tu?" Leno ait: "quare?" Et illa: "quia Lapsaceni colunt Priapum." Leno ait: "nescis, misera, quia in domum lenonis avari incurristi?" Puella prosternens se ad pedes ejus ait: "o miserere, domine, virginitati mee! Ne prostituas hoc corpus sub tali turpi titulo." Cui leno ait: "nescis, quia apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrime valent?" Tamen vocavit villicum puellarum et ait: "hec puella ornetur vestibus puellaribus preciosis, et scribatur ei titulus: "quicunque Tharsiam violaverit, medium libram dabit; postea ad singulos solidos patebit populo." Villicus fecit, quod jussum fuerat cum lenone. Tertia die antecedente turba cum symphonia deducitur ad lupanar. Sed Athanagora princeps civitatis primus ingreditur velato capite. Tharsia videns eum procidit ad pedes ejus et ait: "miserere mei, domine, propter deum! Et per deum te adjuro, ne velis me violare! Resiste libidini tue et audi casus infelicitatis mee et originem, unde sim, diligenter considera!" Cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset, princeps confusus et pietate plenus ait ei: "habeo et ego filiam tibi similem, de qua similes casus metuo." Hec dicens dedit ei XX aureos dicens: "ecce habes amplius quam virginitatis propositum est. Dic advenientibus, sicut mihi dixisti, et libaberis!" Puella profusis lacrimis ait: "ego pietati tue gracias ago. Et ne alicui narres, que a me audisti!" Athanagora ait: "si narravero, filie mee, cum ad talē etatē penenerit, similem casum ne patiatur." Et cum lacrimis discessit. Cui exeunti obviavit ei alias et ait: "quomodo tibi convenit cum puella?" Ait princeps: "non potest melius: erat enim tristis." Intravit juvenis et puella more solito ostium claudit. Cui juvenis ait: "quantum dedit tibi princeps?" Ait puella: "quadrageinta aureos." At ille: "accipe integrum libram auri!" Princeps audivit, ait: "quanto plus dabis, tanto plus plorabit." Puella nummos accepit, procidit ad pedes ejus et casus suos indicavit. Aporiatus juvenis ait: "domina, surge! Homines sumus. Casibus subjacemes." Hiis dictis exiit. Vedit itaque Athanagoram ridentem et ait illi: "magnus homo es! non habes,

cui lacrimas propines nisi mihi?" Et jurabant, ne hec verba cuiquam proderent, et ceperunt adventum aliorum expectare. Venerunt multi. Dantes pecuniam intrabant, fientes exibant. Postea obtulit pecuniam lenoni dicens: "ecce precium virginis tatis mee! Leno ait: "Vide, ut cotidie tantas pecunias afferas!" Altera die iterum ait ad eum: "ecce precium virginitatis mee, quam lacrimis et precibus custodio." Iratus leno audiens, quod virgo esset, vocat villicum puellarum et ait: "duc eam ad te et frange nodum virginitatis ejus!" Cumque eam villicus duxisset in cubiculum, dixit ad eam: "dic mihi, si virgo es." At illa: "quamdiu deus vult, virgo sum." At ille: "unde tantam tulist pecuniam?" Puella ait: "lacrimis profusis exponens casus meos rogavi homines, ut misericordiam virginitatis mee haberent." Et prosternens se pedibus eius ait: "miserere mei, domine, subveni captive regis filie! ne violes me!" At ille: "leno est avarus: nescio, si possis virgo permanere." At illa: "studii liberalibus. Erudita sum et in genere musicali possum modulari. Duc me in forum! Ibi poteris facundiam meam audire: proponam questiones populo et proposita solvam et hac arte applicabo pecunias cotidie." At ille: "mihi bene placet." Omnis populus cucurrit ad virginem videndam. At illa aggreditur facundiam studiorum; questiones sibi proponi jubet, omnes clare solvit. Tunc clamor populi factus est magnus circa eam et multam pecuniam a populo recepit. Athanagora vero illam integra virginitate ut unicam filiam custodiebat, ita ut eam donis multis villico commendaret. Cum hec agerentur, venit Appollonius XIII<sup>o</sup> anno jam transacto ad domum Stranguilionis et Dyonisiadis in civitatem Tharsum. Quem cum vidisset Stranguilio, perrexit rabido cursu dixitque uxori sue Dyonisiade: "dixisti Appollonium naufragium fecisse: ecce venit ad repetendam filiam suam! Quid dicturi sumus patri pro filia?" Et illa dixit: "miser vir et ego conjux! Accipiamus vestes lugubres et perfundamus lacrimas! Et credet nobis, quod filia ejus morte naturali defuncta est." Cum hec ita dicerent, intravit Appollonius. Ut vero vidit eos lugubri ueste indutos, ait: "quare in adventu meo funditis lacrimas? Credo, quod iste lacrime non sunt uestre sed mee." Ait mulier nequam: "utinam ad aures tuas aliis et non ego aut conjux meus diceret, quod jam dicam! Tharsia, filia tua, subito defuncta est." Appollonius hoc audiens, totum corpus ejus contremuit, diuque defixus stetit. Tandem resumpto spiritu intuens mulierem ait: "o mulier, si filia mea defuncta est, ut dicis, numquid et pecunia ac uestes simulque ornamenta perierunt?" Ait illa: "aliqua sunt, aliqua perierunt." Et dixerunt: "crede nobis, quia credidimus, ut filiam tuam viventem invenires. Et ut scias nos non esse mentitos, habemus testimonium: cives enim nostri memores beneficiorum tuorum in proximo litore ex ere collato filie tue monumentum fecerunt, quod potes videre." Appollonius credens eam esse defunctam ad famulos ait: "tollite hec, famuli, et ferte ad navem! Ego vadam ad filie mee monumentum." Legit titulum sicut superius est scriptum.

Stetit quasi extra se maledicens oculos proprios et ait: "o crudelis oculi, potuistis titulum filie mee cernere, non potuistis lacrimas fundere!" Hiis dictis ad navem perrexit et ait famulis suis: "projicite me, quero, in profunditatem navis; cupio enim in undis exhalare spiritum." Et dum prosperis navigat ventis Tyrum reversurus, subito mutatum est pelagus, et per diversa maris discrimina naves jactabantur. Omnibus autem deum rogantibus ad Machilenam civitatem, in qua erat filia sua Tharsia, venerunt. Gubernator autem cum omnibus magnum plausum dedit. Ait Appollonius: "quis sonus hilaritatis aures meas percussit?" Ait gubernator: "gaude, domine, quia hodie Neptunalia celebrantur." Appollonius ingemuit et ait: "et omnes diem festum celebrent preter me!" Tunc vocavit dispensatorem suum et ait ei: "sufficiat famulis meis pena mea ac dolor—dona eis X aureos, et emant, si que voluerint, et diem festum celebrent. Et quicunque vocaverit me vel gaudium mihi fecerit, crura illorum frangi jubeo." Dispensator itaque emit necessaria et rediit ad navem. Cum igitur inter omnes naves navis Appollonii honoracior esset, cum magno convivio ceteris melius celebrant naute Appollonii. Athenagora, qui Tharsium diligebat, juxta navem in litore ambulabat viditque navem Appollonii et ait: "amici, ecce navis ista mihi placet, quam video decenter esse paratam." Naute, ut audiunt suam navem laudari, dixerunt ei: "o domine, rogamus, in navem nostram ascendatis." Et ille: "mihi placet." Ascendit et libenti animo discubuit positiisque decem aureos in mensa et ait: "ecce, ne frustra me invitaveritis!" Et dixerunt: "domine regraciamur vobis." Cum autem princeps vidisset omnes discumbentes, ait: "quis est dominus navis?" Ait gubernator: "dominus navis in luctu moratur, jacet inferius et opstinet: in mari conjugem perdidit et in terra filiam." Athanagora ait unius servo, Ardallo nomine: "dabo tibi duos aureos; tantum descendere et dic ei: "rogat te princeps civitatis hujus: procede de tenebris ad lucem!" Ait juvenis: "non possum aureis tuis crura mea reparare. Quere alium, quia jussit, ut quicunque eum appellaverit, crura ejus frangantur." Athanagora ait: "hanc legem vobis constituit, non mihi; ego autem descendam ad eum. Dicito mihi, quis vocatur." At ille: "Appollonius." Auditio hoc nomine ait intra se: "et Tharsia appellavit patrem suum Appollonium." Descendit ad eum. Quem ut vidit barba, capite squalidum, submissa voce dixit: "ave Appolloni!" Appollonius ut audivit, putans se ab aliquo servorum suorum appellari, turbulentu vultu respiens vidit ignotum hominem, honestum et decorum. Siluit. Ait princeps: "scio te mirari, quod ego ignotus te appellavi. Disce, quia princeps sum hujus civitatis, Athanagora nomine. Descendi ad litus ad naves contuendas, inter ceteras vidi navem tuam decenter ornatam et amavi aspectum eius. Invitatus eram a nautis tuis. Ascendi et libenti animo discubui. Inquisivi dominum navis. Quem dixerunt in luctu grandi esse; quod et video. Propter quod ad te descendi, ut de tenebris producerem te ad lucem. Spero autem, quia dabit tibi deus

post luctum gaudium." Appollonius levavit caput et ait: "quisquis es, domine, vade in pace! Ego autem non sum dignus epulari et ideo amplius vivere nolo." Athanagora confusus ascendit in superiora navis et dixit: "non valeo persuadere domino vestro, ut ad lucem exeat. Quid faciam, ut revocem a proposito mortis?" Vocavit unum de pueris suis et ait: "vade ad lenonem et roga eum, ut mittat ad me Tharsiam. Habet enim sapientiam et sermonem suavem; potest eum forsitan exhortari, ne talis taliter moriatur." Venit igitur puella ad navem, ad quam ait Athanagora: "veni ad me Tharsia domina! Hic est necessaria ars studiorum tuorum, ut consoleris dominum navis in tenebris sedentem et ut provokes eum exire ad lucem, quia nimis dolet pro conjugi sua et filia. Accede ergo ad eum et suade, ut ad lucem veniat, quia forte deus per te luctum suum in gaudium convertet. Si enim hoc poteris facere, dabo tibi XXX sestercias auri et totidem argenti et XXX dies redimam te a lenone." Puella hec audiens constanter ad eum descendit et humili voce salutavit eum dicens: "salve, quicunque es, salve et letare! Scias, quia innocens virgo, que virginitatem suam inter naufragia sua et castitatem inviolatam conservavit, te salutat." Tunc in carminibus cepit modulata voce cantare in magna dulcedine, intantum quod mirabatur Appollonius. Et dixit cantando ea que hic sequuntur:

" Per sortes gradior, sed sortum conscientia non sum,  
Sic spinis rosa non scit violari et ullis.  
Corruit et raptor gladii ferientis ab ictu.  
Tradita lenoni non sum violata pudore.  
Vulnera cessassent animi, lacrimeque deessent,  
Nulla etenim melior si nossem certa parentes.  
Unica regalis generis sum stirpe creata.  
Ipse jubente deo letari credo aliquando.  
Fuge modo lacrimas, curam dissolve molestam,  
Redde polo faciem mentemque ad sidera tolle!  
Jam deus est hominum plasmator, rector et auctor:  
Non sinet has lacrimas cassio finire labore!"

Ad hec Appollonius levavit oculos et, ut vidit puellam, engemuit et ait: "heu mihi misero! quamdiu luctabor? Gratias ago prudencie tue et nolilitati. Hanc vicem rependo, ut memor tui sim. Quando letari licet, regni mei viribus levabor: forsitan, ut dicis, regio genere orta est, natalibus parentum tuorum representaberis. Nunc accipe centum aureos et recede! Noli me appellare; recenti enim luctu renovata calamitate tabesco!"

Puella acceptis aureis abire cepit. Et ait ad eam Athanagora: "quo vadis, Tharsia? Sine effectu laborasti? Non potuisti facere misericordiam ac subvenire homini interficieni se?" Et ait Tharsia: "omnia, quecumque potui, feci, et datis mihi centum aureis abire rogavit." Athanagora ait:

"dabo tibi ducentos, descende et redde ei, quos dedit, et dic: "salutem tuam quero, non pecuniam." Descendens Tharsia sedit juxta eum et ait: "si in isto squalore manere destinasti, permitte me tecum sermocinari. Si ergo parabolaram mearum nodos absolveris, vadam; sin, alias, refundam tibi pecuniam et abscedam." Tunc Appollonius, ne reciperet pecuniam, sed eciam puelle prudentes ne negaret sermones, ait: "licet in malis meis nulla cura mihi suppetat nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen, ne ornamento prudencie tue caream, dic, quod interrogatura es, et abscede! Peto enim, ut fletibus meis spaciū tribuas." Ait Tharsia: jam audito me:

Est domus in terris, que nobis clausa resultat.  
Ipse domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes.  
Ambo tamen currunt, hospes simul et domus una.

Et ait: "si rex es, ut dicis, convenient te mihi esse prudenciorem: solve questionem!" Ait Appollonius: "ut scias me non esse mentitum: domus, que in terra resonat, unda est, hospes tacitus piscis est, qui cum domo sua currit." At illa:

Longa feror velox formose filia silve,  
Innumera pariter comitum stipante caterva,  
Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo.

Appollonius ait: "o si licitum esset, ostenderem tibi multa, que ignoras. Tamen respondebo questionibus tuis; miror te tam tenera etate mirifica prudencia esse imbutam. Namque arbor stipata catervis, vias multas currens et vestigia nulla relinquens, navis est." Et addidit puella:

Per totas edes innoxius pertransit ignis.  
Est calor in medio magnus, quem nemo removit,  
Non est nuda domus, nudus sed convenient hospes.  
Si luctum poneres, innocens intrares in ignes.

Appollonius ait: "intrarem balneum, ubi hinc inde flamme per tabulas surgunt. Nuda domus, in qua nihil intus est, nudus hospes convenient, nudus sudabit." Cumque hec et similia dicerent, puella misit se super Appollonium et distractis manibus amplexebatur eum dicens ei: "exaudi vocem deprecantis, respice virginem, quia virum talis prudencie mori nefarium est. Si conjugem desideras: deus ex sua gracia tibi restituat; si filiam: salvam, quam defunctam dicis, invenire poteris. Pre gaudio oportet te vivere!" Appollonius, cum verba hec audisset, in iracundiam versus est, surrexit et puellam cum pede percussit. Impulsa vero virgo cecedit et gene eius rupit sanguis effluere. Conturbata virgo cepit flere et dixit: "o deus, conditor celorum, vide afflictionem meam! Nata sum inter fluctus et procellas maris, mater mea doloribus constricta defuncta est, et sepultura est ei negata in terris. Ornata a patre meo et in loculo posita cum XX sisterciis auri mari tradita est. Ego infelix Stran-

guilioni et Dyonisiadi, impiissimis hominibus, a patre meo sum tradita cum ornamentis et regalibus vestibus. Et per Dyonisiadem veni, quia jussa sum a servis eorum occidi. Tandem petivi, ut deum invocarem, antequam me occideret: mihi concessit. Piratis supervenientibus rapta sum (et qui occidere me volebat, fugam petit) et in hunc locum deducta. Et deus, quando ei placet, reddet me Appollonio patri meo!" Appollonius audiens omnia hec signa certissima, exclamavit voce magna et ait: "o domine misericors, qui conspicis celum et abyssum et omnia secreta patefacis, benedictum sit nomen tuum!" Cum hec dixisset, cecidit super amplexus Tharsie, filie sue, et osculatus est eam et pre gaudio flevit amare et ait: "o dulcissima nata mea et unica, dimidium anime mee! Non moriar propter te; inveni propter quam volebam mori!" Alta voce clamabat dicens: "currite, famuli! currite, amici! currite omnes, et miserie mee finem imponite! Inveni quam perdideram, scilicet unicam filiam meam." Auditio clamore famuli cucurserunt, cucurrit inter illos Athanagora princeps. Et descendantibus illis in navim invenerunt eum flentem pre gaudio super collum filie sue et dicentem: "ecce filia mea, quam lugeo, dimidium anime mee. Jam volo vivere!" Omnes pre gaudio cum eo flebant. Tunc erigens se Appollonius, projectis vestibus lugubribus indutus est vestibus mundissimis. Et omnes dixerunt: "o domine, quam similis est vobis filia vestra! Si non esset aliud experimentum, sufficeret ejus similitudo ad probandum, eam esse filiam vestram." Tunc filia bis, ter, quater osculata est patrem et ait: "o pater, benedictus sit deus, qui mihi gratiam dedit, quod te videre potero, tecum vivere, tecum mori!" Et narravit ei, quomodo a lenone comparata et in lupanari est posita, et quomodo deus suam virginitatem custodivit. Audiens hec Athanagora, timens, ne alteri filiam in uxorem daret, misit se ad pedes Appollonii dicens: "adjuro te per deum vivum, qui te patrem filie restituit, ne alteri des filiam in conjugem nisi mihi. Sum enim princeps hujus civitatis, meo auxilio virgo permanxit et me duce te patrem agnovit." Cui Appollonius ait: "non possum tibi esse contrarius, quia multa pro filia mea fecisti. Et ideo opto, ut sic uxor tua. Tunc restat, ut vindicem me a lenone, qui tot injurias fecit filie mee." His auditis Athanagora civitatem intravit convocatisque civibus dixit: "ne pereat civitas propter unum impium! Sciatis Appollonium regem, patrem Tharsie ad hoc venisse. Ecce classes navium properant cum grandi exercitu ad destruendam civitatem propter lenonem, qui filiam suam Tharsiam in lupanari constituit." Hiis dictis concursus magnus factus est et tanta commotio populi, ut nec viri nec femine remanerent, quin currenter omnes ad Appollonium regem videndo eum et misericordiam petendo. Ait Athanagora: "consulo ad hoc, ut, ne destruatur civitas, deducatur ad eum leno." Captus est statim leno et ligatis manibus a tergo deducitur ad regem. Appollonius, regia ueste indutus, tonso capite, diadema imposuit capiti suo, tribunal ascendit cum filia et civibus dixit: "videtis Tharsiam virginem a patre suo hodie cognitam, quam

cupidissimus leno, quantum erat in eo, . . . ejus corruptionem et confusionem perpetuam procurabat nec a malicia sua prece nec precio desistere volebat. Facite ergo filie mee vindictam!" Omnes una voce dixerunt: "domine, leno vivus comburatur, et divicie eius puelle dentur." Protinus adducitur leno et coram omnibus in igne ponitur et totaliter comburitur. Tharsia ait villico: "dono tibi libertatem, quia beneficio tuo et civium virgo permansi." Et donavit ei ducentos aureos et libertatem. Libertatem vero cunctis puellis coram se presentatis perdonavit et dixit: "quidcunque de corpore vestro actenus . . . servistis, ex hoc libere estote." Appollonius loquitur ad populum dicens: "gratias vobis redbo de beneficiis vestris mihi et filie mee factis. Nunc ergo tribuo vobis auri pondera quinquaginta." Illi ei capita sua inclinabant gracias referentes. Cives vero statuam Appollonii in medio civitatis fecerunt et in basi scripserunt. "Tyrio Appollonio, restauratori domuum nostrarum, et Tharsie, sanctissime filie ejus, virginis." Intra paucos dies Appollonius tradidit filiam suam in conjugem Athanagore cum ingenti leticia totius civitatis. Et cum genero et filia navigans, cum omnibus suis volens per Tharsum profiscendo in patriam suam ire, in sompnis admonitus est per angelum, ut Ephesum descenderet et intraret templum Ephesiorum cum filia et genero suo ibique omnes casus suos alta voce exponeret, quos passus esset a juventute sua. Postea veniret Tharsum et vindicaret filiam suam. Appollonius expergefactus omnia indicavit genero et filie sue. Et illi dixerunt: "fac, domine, quod tibi videtur." Tunc jussit gubernatori navigare Ephesum. Qui cum descendisset ratim, cum suis templum petiit, ubi conjux sua inter sacerdotes sancte vixit. Rogavit, ut templum ei aperiretur. Quod et factum est. Hec audiens uxor eius, quod quidam rex venerat cum filia et genero, gemmis regalibus ornavit caput suum et induit se vesta purpurea et cum honesto comitatu templum intravit. Erat enim nimis pulchra et ob nimium castitatis amorem asserebant omnes nullam tam gratam esse virginem. Quam videns Appollonius in nullo noticiam eius habebat. Misit se ad pedes eius cum filia sua et genero; tantus enim splendor eius pulchritudinis imminebat, ut ipsa Diana esse videntibus putaretur. Statim in templo optulit munera preciosa. Et post hec cepit Appollonius dicere, sicut ei angelus in sompnis dixerat: "ego ab adolescencia rex, natus Tyrus, Appollonius nominatus, cum ad omnem scientiam pervenisse, regis iniqui Antiochi questionem exsolvi, ut eius filiam acciperem. Ille vero eam defloraverat ac in impietate sua continue tenuit: et me occidere conabatur. Fugam petii et in mari omnia perdidi. Et post hec a rege Altistrate gratissime susceptus intantum eius benevolentiam sum expertus, ut filiam suam mihi in uxorem daret. Deinde mortuo Antiocho cum properarem ad regnum percipendum, uxorem meam mecum duxi. Hanc filiam in mari peperit uxor mea, de cuius partu defuncta est. Quam ego cum XX sisteriis auri in loculo clausam in mare misi, ut inventa digne sepeliretur. Et hanc filiam meam nutriendam nequissimus hominibus commendavi et superiores

Egypti partes pecii. Quarto autem decimo anno adveniens, ut filiam meam expeterem, dixerunt eam esse defunctam. Et dum credidi, in luctu vixi et in lugubribus vestibus, et mori cupiens mihi filia mea redditam est." Cum hec et hiis similia narraret, Altistratis regis filia, uxor ipsius, levavit se et rapuit eum in amplexus volensque eum osculari. Appollonius autem repulit eam a se cum indignacione, ignorans, quod uxor sua esset. At illa cum lacrimis dicebat: "o domine mi, dimidium anime mee, cur sic agis? Ego sum conjux tua, Altistratis regis filia, et tu es Tyrius Appollonius, maritus et dominus meus, tu es magister meus, qui me docuisti, tu es naufragus, quem amavi non causa libidinis sed sapiencie." Appollonius hec audiens statim eius noticiam habebat, cecidit super collum eius et pre gaudio lacrimas emisit dicens: "benedictus sit Altissimus, qui mihi uxorem cum filia reddidit!" At illa: "ubi est filia mea?" Et ipse ostendens Tharsiam dixit: "hec est filia nostra, quam vides." Illa vero osculata est eam. Fit leticia magna in tota civitate et in circuitu: quod rex Appollonius uxorem suam in templo invenit, famatum est. Appollonius ascendit navim cum uxore et filia et genero, revertentes ad patriam suam. Veniens igitur Appollonius Antiochiam regnum sibi reservatum recepit et pergens Tyrum constituit in locum suum Anthanagoram generum suum. Deinde cum ipso genero et filia sua et cum exercitu regio venio Tharsum jussit comprehendere Dyonisiadem et Stranguilionem et duci ante se et coram omnibus civibus ait: "cives Tharsenses, numquid ego alicui vestrum exstiti ingratus?" Omnes dixerunt: "non, domine! Parati sumus pro vobis mori. Hec statua est facta in signum, quia nos a morte salvastis." Appollonius ait: "commendavi filiam meam Stranguiloni et Dyonisiadi uxori sue, et eam mihi reddere noluerunt." Infelix mulier ait: "bone domine, numquid non tu ipse titulum monumenti eius legisti?" Appollonius jussit venire filiam suam Tharsiam in presencia omnium. Et Tharsia maledixit mulieri et dixit: "ave, salutat te Tharsia ab inferis revocata!" Infelix mulier videns eam toto corpore contremuit. Cives mirabantur et gaudebant. Et jussit Tharsia venire villicum, cui dixit: "Theophile, ut possit tibi ignosci, clara voce responde: quis me interficiendam tibi obligavit?" Tunc cives rapuerunt Strangulionem et Dyonisiadem et extra civitatem trahentes lapidaverunt, volentes et Theophilum occidere. Sed Tharsia eum a morte liberavit. Et dixit: "nisi mihi spacium ad orandum dedisset, modo eum non defenderem." Appollonius dedit munera ad restaurandam civitatem. Et moratus est ibi tribus mensibus. Navigans inde Pentapolim civitatem curiam ingreditur ad Altistratem regem. Gaudens rex vero senex factus est, vidit filiam suam et neptem cum marito suo, rege. Per integrum annum letanter insimul permanserunt. Post hec moritur perfecta estate in manibus eorum, dimittens dimidiatem regni sui Appollonio et medietatem filie sue. Omnibus hiis peractis dum ambularet Appollonius juxta mare, vidit pescatorem, qui eum post naufragium recepit. Jussitque eum apprehendere et ad palatium duci.

Videns piscator a militibus se comprehendi putavit occidi. Ingressus Appollonius jussit eum adduci ad se et ait: "hic est paranymphus meus, qui mihi post naufragium opem dedit et ad civitatem venire ostendit." Et dicit ei: "ego sum Tyrius Appollonius." Et jussit sibi dari CC sistercias argenti, servos et ancillas, et fecit eum comitem suum, quamdiu vixit. Elamitus vero, qui ei de Antiocho nunciavit, procidens ad pedes Appollonii . . . et ait: "domine, memor esto Elamiti servi tui!" Appollonius apprehensa manu eius erexit eum fecitque eum divitem et ordinavit comitem. Hiis expletis genuit Appollonius filium de conjuge sua, quem in loco avi sui Altistratis constituit regem. Vixit vero Appollonius cum conjuge sua annos LXXIV et tenuit regnum Antioche et Tyri et Tyrenensium quiete ac feliciter. Casus suos ipse descripsit, ipse duo volumina perfecit, unum in templo Ephesiorum, alterum in sua bibliotheca collocavit. Et defunctus est et perrexit ad vitam eternam, ad quam vitam nos perducat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Amen.







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